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Your faithful
Denny

Geo. D. Bruce

MILITARY JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY,

An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

Mirror of ancient faith!
Undaunted worth! inviolable truth!

DRYDEN'S ÆNEID.

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MEMOIR.

Ebenezer Denny was born in Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on the 11th of March, 1761. He was the eldest child of William Denny and Agnes Parker. William, and his brother Walter, came to Cumberland from Chester County, in 1745. Walter Denny settled two or three miles south of Carlisle, where he owned a large tract of land, now divided into five farms. He raised a company for the Revolutionary struggle, was killed at the battle of the Crooked Billet; and his son taken, and kept three months on board a Jersey prison-ship. David Denny, for many years pastor of the Presbyterian church at Chambersburg, was a son of Walter. William lived in Carlisle. He was the first Coroner west of the Susquehanna, and a Commissary in the war.

The mother of Ebenezer Denny, Agnes, was the daughter of John Parker, and grand-daughter of Richard Parker. Richard, as early as 1730, acquired lands on the Cannadaguinnet, three miles west of Carlisle. These lands continued for two or three generations afterward in possession of his descendants. It was there that his

grandsons, in the intervals of their military service, turned their swords into plowshares. All three—Alexander, Richard and Andrew—were actively engaged in the war. Alexander furnished two teams, at his own expense, when the army was at the White Plains. He was commissioned in Colonel Irvine's regiment, Second Lieutenant in Company No. 1, Captain Hay, January 9th, 1776. Marched in April following, from Carlisle to New York and Canada—promoted a First Lieutenant in Company No. 4, Captain Rippey, June 9th, 1776, and Captain, 31st July, 1777, in Colonel Irvine's regiment. In the first campaign against Quebec, he and his cousin, John Parker, who was one of his sergeants, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoners. At the close of the Revolutionary War, whilst Richard and Andrew emigrated to Kentucky, Alexander Parker settled in Western Virginia, on lands which he acquired by settlement and purchase, at the mouth of the Little Kanahwa, on which is now the town of Parkersburg. His only surviving child, Mary, whilst on a visit to her relative in Pittsburgh, was married to William Robinson, Jr., of Allegheny. On that occasion her cousin from Kentucky, a grandchild of Richard Parker, afterward Mrs. T. Crittenden, was her bridesmaid.

Agnes, the mother of Ebenezer Denny, was an uncommon woman, of great energy and intelligence. She was of middle height, fair complexion, blue eyes, bright sandy hair; beautiful in her younger days, attractive at all times, and prepossessing in her old age. Her numerous friends and relatives approached her always with

confidence in her affection, her sympathy, her good temper and sound judgment. A devout Christian—with her Bible, in every sense, by heart. She never failed to ascribe the many deliverances of her son Ebenezer, to a particular providence—as other pious persons did to the prayers of herself, his good mother.

Her father left his large estate to his sons; as was the custom in those days. Agnes inherited nothing. Her husband, a highminded and gentlemanly man, fell away in his habits and circumstances. Ebenezer, therefore, felt that he ought to endeavor to assist them, as well as to support himself. At the age of thirteen, he obtained employment as a bearer of dispatches to the commandant at Fort Pitt. He crossed the Allegheny mountains alone, lying out in the woods with any party of pack-horsemen whom he overtook at nightfall. His friend in after years, Samuel Murphy, of "Murphy's Bend," on his first visit from Bullskins to Fort Pitt in 1774, met him at Turtle Creek, on his return from the fort: "a slender, fair, blue-eyed, red-haired boy, two or three years younger than himself, between eleven and thirteen years old." Murphy expressed, at the time, his surprise that the public authorities would intrust a mere lad to carry important dispatches through a wilderness infested with savage enemies. Twenty years afterward, Murphy was a lieutenant in a military expedition to Presqu' Isle, commanded by the person who was that night at Turtle Creek his camp-mate and bed-fellow. Once during that expedition, whilst suppressing a mutiny, and again, when returning, he fell out of his perogue, the

life of the commander was saved by that brave and athletic soldier. "When I met him at Turtle Creek," said Murphy, "he must have been on his return from the fort. I know him too well to suppose that he would have disclosed to me the nature of his business, until after it was executed." On two of these missions to Fort Pitt, at the Loyalhanna and at Turkey-foot, he was chased into Fort Loudon by the Indians.

He was afterward employed in his father's store in Carlisle. Fresh from his bridle path on Chestnut Ridge and Laurel Hill, and familiar with its danger, it was hardly to be expected that he would be content at home behind a counter, whilst his uncles, of whom he was justly proud, risked everything in the war.

A letter of marque and reprisal was about to sail to the West Indies. He repaired to Philadelphia and shipped as a volunteer. The captain intended to intercept a British merchantman, with a valuable cargo, bound from the Bahamas to Halifax. But entertaining a party of friends who accompanied him down the Delaware, was unable to command his ship when, outside the capes, the expected prize came in sight. He made amends for this disappointment afterward by a vigilant, daring and successful cruise. His ship became noted in the Gulf. On one occasion, off Martinique, he had a running fight with three armed British cruisers. In that chase and action, Ebenezer attracted the notice of the captain by his alacrity and intrepidity, as he had throughout the voyage by his modesty and fidelity. Observing that in every emergency he was not less brave than any of the

crew, whilst he was always reliable and trustworthy, the captain, on the voyage home, promoted him to the command of the quarter deck.

To overcome his scruples and aversion to what seemed so much like highway robbery, that even the love of adventure could not gloss it over, he was offered the privilege of supercargo, to induce him to embark again in another cruise. This tempting offer reached him in the family cabin at Carlisle, surrounded by his mother and sisters, whose affectionate endeavors to dissuade him from its acceptance only increased his desire to earn something for himself and them. He decided to go back to sea. He invested his share of the prize money in whiskey and flour, and had crossed the Susquehanna with his wagon on his way to Philadelphia, when he received a commission of Ensign in the First Pennsylvania regiment. He gladly disposed of his produce at Harrisburg, and joined the army at Little York. This was shortly after the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line. In his military journal, which then commences, he describes the pain he felt at being obliged to witness the execution.

Then followed Wayne's forced marches into Virginia, and the first action of the Pennsylvania troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler, near Williamsburg, where they had a desperate encounter with Simcoe; the British partisan and his rangers being very much emboldened by their recent success at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers, at which point, with a detachment of yagers, infantry and hussars, they frightened the Baron Steuben into a night retreat of thirty

miles, and destroyed the greater part of his stores scattered along the river bank; although he was at the head of five hundred Virginia regulars, with some militia, separated from the enemy by deep water, and the boats all on his own side. This was Steuben's first and only separate command.

Soon after, Wayne, who also was credulous, but in the opposite way, attempted to surprise Cornwallis. He expected to find his army partly crossed over and divided by the James river. Our young ensign, the extent of whose marching of late had been the length of his quarter deck, frankly confesses that he could not keep up with his company. As they were coming into action, his captain and fellow townsman, falling behind and walking by his side, quietly said to him, "Now, Eb., for the honor of old Carlisle, do not disgrace yourself." Montgomery made this rallying appeal to the memory of their native place, supposing that his young townsman was going into his first action; probably not knowing that the youngster was fresh from the perils of the sea, and familiar with the smoke of gunpowder on the deck of a privateer. The boldness of their commander advanced them into a position of great danger, from which they were extricated only by still greater daring. Cornwallis, astonished at the hardihood of the attack, sent a regiment of infantry to meet him, and cautiously deployed his whole army to the right and left. The regiment of British infantry, in front of the American line, marched up in open order, with perfect regularity; Wayne reserving his fire until they were within a dis-

tance of seventy paces, when both lines enchanged shots for a few minutes. The hero of Stony Point was in full uniform—his horse prancing in front of the Pennsylvania infantry, his face glowing with pleasure. He seemed to Ensign Denny, who stood near him, to be amused with the loss of his plume, which was cut off by a ball on the first fire. Nearly all the field officers were dismounted.

A young officer, acting in the staff, whose pantaloons were rubbed by some bleeding horse, imagining himself wounded, fainted, and was carried off the field. Being very handsome, one of the few young men of fortune in the army who could afford to dress well, he was envied by his brother officers, who made the most of the accident to laugh him out of the service. Ensign Denny was the only officer in the company who was not wounded. The captain and lieutenant were disabled at the first fire. The troops retreated by companies. Montgomery's fell to the command of the ensign. They recrossed the swamp by the narrow causeway, in good order, but with such expedition, that he could again hardly keep up with the men. But "thanks to the veteran first sergeant, the most important officer," he remarked, "in a company, they were kept together."

The unexampled hardihood of Wayne, persisting to advance, and actually fighting after he must have been aware that the whole British army were at hand, perplexed Cornwallis, made him apprehend an ambuscade, and hesitate in his pursuit. Otherwise, Wayne and all his force would have been taken. The loss of the Americans in this battle, according to Mr.

Denny's account, was one hundred and eighteen killed wounded and prisoners, including ten officers.

Subsequently, at the siege of York, on the night of the 14th October, Ensign Denny was in the advance attack on the redoubts, in which the Pennsylvania troops distinguished themselves under the lead of Hamilton. In the ceremony of the surrender, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler, (afterward General Butler, killed at St. Clair's defeat,) in honor of his recent services and the signal part his regiment had taken in the capture of the redoubt, was appointed to plant the first American flag upon the British parapet.

Colonel Butler, who was a short heavy person, detailed for this service his youngest ensign, in his figure and stature a contrast to himself; probably partial to him, as coming from his own town, Carlisle. The young officer mounted the parapet, in the presence of the three armies, and was in the act of planting the flag-staff, when the Baron Steuben rode out of the lines, dismounted, took the flag, and planted it himself. The disappointed and mortified subaltern had nothing to do but submit. But not so his colonel, the hero who had avenged the Baron's flight from Simcoe. He, that night, sent the arrogant foreigner a message, as every one expected, and it took all the influence of Rochambeau and Washington to prevent a hostile meeting.

Perhaps there was some excuse for the Prussian martinet, in the fact, that a dispute on a point of military etiquette had arisen among the general staff at headquarters, in which Lafayette and Rochambeau took op-

posite sides; the Marquis contending that he should "take the flag," and the Count claiming the right for the Baron Steuben.

In no part of his diary or correspondence does he allude to the subject of two duels, in which he was concerned as second. One of these affairs grew out of some offense given to the surgeon of the regiment, by a brother officer. The aggressor, as was his custom, when he thought he had offended an officer of lower grade, was seen in camp next day without his epaulets, to show that he waived his rank, and was ready to give satisfaction. The surgeon, like many other surgeons in the Revolutionary army, was a brave man, and expert with the pistol; nevertheless, at the hostile meeting which followed, they exchanged shots without effect, very much to the surprise of the challenged party, who at first accused his friend of having loaded the pistols only with powder; but on being shown the trees directly behind them, freshly barked by the balls, recovered his good humor, and requested him to "prime and load." Lieutenant Denny, instead of doing so, assured his friend that he was in the wrong, and succeeded in reconciling the combatants before they left the field. They walked back to the camp, arm in arm, the officer congratulating himself that he had not killed his doctor.

It will be recollected that they were officers of the army—at a time when dueling was more than now the fashion—were on the soil of Virginia, where the custom was indigenous—and in the presence of our allies, the French chivalry.

Ensign Denny, as appears from his journal, was afterward with Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar, and the First Pennsylvania regiment, in the Carolinas—under the command of General St. Clair, and at Charleston, during its investment, and after its evacuation.

In the order book of Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, dated Philadelphia, August 27th, 1784, we find him arranged as ensign in Captain M'Curdy's company of infantry. From that time, throughout the campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair, and his own expedition to Presqu' Isle, his diary is a sufficient sketch of his life for that period. The Adjutant of Harmar and the Aid-de-camp of St. Clair, no one had better opportunities of obtaining authentic information.

When the United States Commissioners were at Fort Finney, waiting for the Shawanees to come in to the treaty, General Clark kept aloof from his colleagues. There appeared to be some jealousy and coolness between them. But to the young commandant, Lieutenant Denny, he was like a father. He invited him to pass his evenings at his tent; threw off his reserve, and talked about his own adventures. He told him that frequently, at night, when his soldiers lay upon their arms, he has crept, on all fours, to the neighboring lick, with only his tomahawk, for fear of alarming the Indians, watched for the deer to pass, and selecting a young one, killed it, and carried it back to the bivouac for the supper of his men. He was a stout, rather short, square man, with a high, broad forehead, sandy hair, blue eyes, and heavy, shaggy eye-brows. With his personal prowess, hardihood and capacity for

detail, there was always comprehensive wisdom in his plan and purpose. He raised his force and supplies promptly. He knew exactly, and therefore never overrated the dangers in the way. He marched quietly to his distant object and took it by surprise. There was no martial pageant, no ostentatious and pompous parade. He threaded the forest silently—or on his Chickasaw ponies galloped across the prairies, and gave the first notice of his presence to the savages by his flag supplanting that of their great allies. Hence that prestige, that renown amongst them which was of such value to carry on hostilities or dictate a peace. When he was present, the great warriors never noticed any other General.

The night on which his little party from Kentucky reached the Kaskaskia river at Menard's Gap, they saw on the opposite bank the Jesuits' seminary lighted up, and heard issuing from it the sounds of the violin. Clark, leaving his horses and most of his men on the eastern side, waded across at the warm ford. It was a ball given by the British officers to the French inhabitants. He placed one of his men quietly at each door, outside, with orders to let none pass. He himself, wrapped in his blanket capot, his arms folded, leaning against the door-cheek, looked in upon the dance. An Indian who lay on the floor of the entry, intently gazing at his features in the light reflected from the room, suddenly sprang to his feet and gave the war-whoop. The dancing ceased, the ladies screamed, and the Frenchmen rushed to the door. Clark, without moving from his position,

or changing his grave expression, desired them to go on with the dance. "The only difference is," said he, "you now dance under Virginia, instead of Great Britain." At day-light he and his mounted men were opposite to Fort Chartiers, on the crest of the bluff, and by marching along its profile so as to be seen from the fort, countermarching out of sight and again showing themselves in a continuous file, his force appeared so large that the much more numerous enemy capitulated without a shot.

The massacre of the Blue Licks recalled him to Kentucky. He described to Lieutenant Denny the panic in the settlements, in the face of which he beat up for volunteers; and what no other man could have done, he promptly raised a party and hung on the bloody flanks of the enemy. His masterly march on the Wabash and capture of Post St. Vincent, he related somewhat different from, and without the flourish of history.

After his conquest of Illinois, he was voted a sword by the State of Virginia. The bearer of it met the grave and discontented hero on the bank of the Wabash. He was anxiously waiting for news that the House of Delegates had passed his accounts, and had voted money to pay them, to enable him to make good his engagements, on sudden emergencies, for supplies to his men. He was disappointed. He took the sword—drew it from its scabbard, and placing the point to the ground, thrust it deep in the soil he had conquered, and broke it off by the hilt. Throwing away the glittering handle, he said, "I asked Virginia for bread, and she sent me a sword!"

During the campaign of 1790, and at the battle of the

Maumee towns, the Journal and letters of Major Denny, who was in fact the acting Adjutant-General of the army, state so fully every military occurrence, and his deposition before the court of inquiry, on the conduct of the commander, is so clear a summary, that it is only necessary to refer to them.

The reader will see that there runs through the whole a vein of loyal attachment to the gallant and accomplished Harmar, which has the ring and lustre of the pure metal, and does honor to them both.

On the 14th December, 1790, President Washington communicated to Congress a military dispatch from the Governor of the North-Western Territory, dated November 6th, in which General St. Clair says: "Mr. Denny, the gentleman who takes General Harmar's dispatches, I beg leave to mention to you in a particular manner; and if you will be pleased to do so to the President in his favor, you may be assured he will not disappoint any expectations that may be formed. He has every quality that I could wish a young man to possess, who meant to make the army his profession. There are, however, some other traits in his character as a man, that are not generally known, that would endear him. Out of the little pittance he receives, he has maintained two aged parents for a long time."[1]

In Brigadier-General Harmar's dispatch to the Secretary of War, dated November 4, 1790, after giving an account of the battle, he says: "The bearer, Lieutenant Denny, is my Adjutant. It will afford me great satisfac-

[1] American State Papers, vol. iv. on Indian Affairs, page 104.

tion to know that some mark of honor will be shown him. His long and faithful services merit it. There is a vast deal of business in this western country. If there is no impropriety in giving me an aid-de-camp, I wish him to be the person." At the foot of the General's letter he says: "N. B. My Adjutant is really and truly an officer."[1]

Major Denny's habitual reserve on the events of his military life, was by no means lessened on the subject of the melancholy scenes of the 4th of November, 1791. As he says in his Journal, he recurred to them with pain and reluctance.

The unfortunate commander himself, modest and dignified as he was, more frequently conversed on the subject, in his retirement at Chestnut Ridge. To his neighbor, still living, the venerable Alexander Johnston, he said that nothing had ever given him more concern than his having dispatched his aid-de-camp, Major Denny, whose worth, and the value of whose life, no one more appreciated, upon a most desperate mission, from which, on reflection, he had no hope of ever seeing him return alive. This was probably at the commencement of the attack on the 4th of November, when with Colonel Oldham he rode forward to the creek, where the Indians had driven in the militia, and vainly endeavoring to arrest their flight, that brave Kentuckian was shot by his side and fell from his horse, execrating the cowardice of his men.

[1] Documents, Legislative and Executive, Congress United States, 1st to 3d Session of the 13th Congress.

In the confusion of the battle, when the officers were nearly all killed or wounded, John Morgan, the aid of the disabled Butler, rode up to Major Denny and asked for orders. His horse, covered with blood, rubbed his wounded face on the Major's pantaloons. This was not noticed at the time; and afterward General St. Clair observing the blood, said to his aid-de-camp, "Major, you are wounded." The latter dismounted, drew off his boot, but finding no wound, recollected Morgan's horse. The General smiled and said, "Don't you remember the Irish beauty?"—alluding to the young officer at the battle of James River, who perceiving his pantaloon stained in the same way, supposed himself wounded, and was carried off the field. This was told to the writer by his father, as an instance of General St. Clair's coolness and self-possession in the midst of the panic.

After General Butler had received his first wound, he continued to walk in front close along the line, with his coat off and his arm in a sling, encouraging the men, and retired only after receiving a second wound in the side. The Commander-in-chief sent Major Denny, with his compliments, to inquire how he was. He found him in the middle of the camp, in a sitting posture, supported by knapsacks — the rifle balls of the Indians, who now surrounded closely the whole camp, concentrated upon that point. One of the wounded General's servants and two of his horses were shot there. He seemed, however, to have no anxiety, and to the inquiry of the aid-de-camp, he answered that he felt well. Whilst making this reply, a young cadet from Virginia, who stood at his

side, was hit on the cap of the knee by a spent ball, and cried so loudly with the pain and alarm, that General Butler actually shook his wounded side with laughter. This satisfied Major Denny that the second wound was not mortal, that the General being very fleshy, the ball might not have penetrated a vital part. He always believed that he might have been brought away and his life saved. Probably his own aid-de-camp, Major John Morgan, may have offered to bring him off, as was his duty, and the wounded General declined, conscious that his weight and helplessness would only encumber his brave young friend for no use, and hinder him from saving himself.

It is among the traditions of the family at Carlisle, that as their relative rode in the rear of the retreating army, a woman caught his horse by its long tail, and held on, although threatened with hoof and sword. She was rewarded for her confidence in his generosity by being taken up behind, and carried in safety to Fort Jefferson.

The first intelligence of the disastrous termination of St. Clair's campaign was brought to Philadelphia by his aid-de-camp, who rode down Market street on the gallant little horse which had borne his tired rider night and day from Fort Pitt, and now reined up, bespattered with mud, at the President's mansion. General Washington had a party at dinner that evening. A servant came up stairs, and said that a young officer from the army had a letter for the President. The private secretary, Mr. Tobias Lear, was sent down to receive it.

The officer said that his orders were to give the dispatch to the President only, which being told to Washington, he came down to the ante-room and received it. He had not read more than a few lines, until he perceived its import, and broke out in expressions, which the young officer did not set down in his diary, but which Mr. Tobias Lear, the private secretary, recorded in his private journal, to be published at this late day, and cited in confirmation of the probable truth of the allegation, that Washington swore profanely at that traitor, Lee, in the battle of Monmouth.

In a most violent passion, says the secretary, he exclaimed, "Did I not in the last words I said to him, warn him against a *surprise?*" As if a *surprise* was the only thing to be feared, the only advantage needed by an enemy, brave by nature, and trained to war from childhood, to enable them to vanquish an equal number of undisciplined troops, raw from the jails of the cities, poorly equipped, hurried off, late in the season, to fight them, united in their forest home—and to be "surprised"—as indeed they were—only because the second in command, the officer of the day, would not permit the information, regularly had, that the enemy were near the camp in unusual numbers, "to go beyond his own tent." His bravery, his exertions during the day to redeem it from the consequences of his fault, and his fate, made some atonement.

But there was no excuse for the President attaching to the expedition an officer of his high rank and pretensions, without giving him the command-in-chief. There

was no excuse for his sending against the Indians, all united under Brant, a force not more numerous than them, and so irregular and mutinous that it took the best regiment to protect the convoys of provisions from the deserters.

After Major Denny's resignation and retirement to civil life, he married, on the first of July, 1793, Nancy Wilkins, also a native of Carlisle; the youngest daughter, by the first wife, of John Wilkins, Sr., formerly of that place, who was a captain of a volunteer company in the Revolution and at the battle of Brandywine. Before removing to Pittsburgh, Captain Wilkins resided for some time at Bedford, and represented Bedford county in the Convention of 1777, which formed the first Constitution of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Denny was the sister, by the same mother, of John Wilkins, Jr., a surgeon's mate in the Revolutionary army, afterward Quarter-master General; of Charles Wilkins, of Lexington, Kentucky; and of the Hon. William Wilkins, of Homewood.

In 1794, Ebenezer Denny was again commissioned a captain, and commanded the expedition to Le Bœuf, the ostensible object of which was to protect the commissioners in laying out a town at Presqu' Isle — but the real and important purpose, to prevent the Six Nations uniting with the Miami Indians against Wayne.

Major Denny, as instructed by Governor Mifflin, kept a journal, in which he entered minutely every occurrence on the expedition. In transcribing his original diary, he thought many of the details not worth preserving. But

it is believed that even the daily entries of the weather on French Creek, sixty years ago, are not without interest at present.

In the years 1795 and 1796, Major Denny resided with his young family at his farm and mill, about six miles from Pittsburgh, near the Monongahela, about half a mile from the river, where the road to M'Keesport crosses Street's Run. Whilst residing there he was taken up as a candidate for the State Legislature. His opponent was John B. C. Lucas, a native of France, only recently an emigrant from that country. The result shows the force at that time of party spirit. On one side was a native of the State, a Revolutionary officer, who but lately served with credit in three expeditions against the Indians; the last one of which he himself commanded. Many of the early settlers in the election district, and most of the influential men amongst them, had served under him. On the other hand, a foreigner, speaking the English language with difficulty — but a short time from Europe — his family not attempting to conciliate the prejudices of their puritanical neighbors — having himself the reputation of being an "avowed Atheist" — his wife "plowing on Sunday."

Lucas' farm was about half a mile lower down the Monongahela, on the brow of Coal Hill, the high bluff which flanks that river on the south side. They were near neighbors. On the morning of the election, Lucas, on his way to the polls, passing the mill, exchanged friendly salutations with his rival. "Your father," (I shall give Judge Lucas' own words,) "your father asked

me to wait until he got his horse; he supposed I was going to the election, and said he would go along. We rode together to the place in Mifflin township where the election was held. Arriving on the ground, the country people shook hands with him, inquired about his health and his family, but spoke not a word to me — no man spoke to Lucas — not one. Your father, being a modest man, said to me, 'Lucas, we have no business here; let us vote and go home.' We did so. On my return, Mrs. Lucas said, 'Well, Lucas, how goes on the election?' I replied, 'Oh! they are all for Major Denny. They greeted him in the kindest manner — no one spoke to Lucas.' She agreed with me that my chance was bad. However, next morning the return judges calling with us on their way to town, stated that I had a majority in the township — in fact I was elected. Next year, or year after, your father was a candidate for Commissioner of the county, and received nearly every vote — that not being then considered a party question." This was about three or four years after the meeting of the insurgents at Braddock's Field, to which convention no small delegation went from Mifflin township. The greater part of the voters had indeed been "Whiskey Boys." "Your father," said Lucas, "was the 'family candidate' — the brother-in-law of General John Wilkins, the obnoxious Quarter-master who would not buy the illicit whiskey." Calumnies circulated on the ground to the prejudice of Lucas were promptly and warmly contradicted by Major Denny, to whom a few confidently referred those who believed that he killed his son in a fit of passion, and that

his wife, during his absence in France, had "plowed on Sunday."

It was well known that Lucas, as well as Gallatin, was identified with the popular cause. No one knew better how to avail himself of rural political prejudices. At the same time neither he nor Gallatin were in favor of extreme measures. Mr. Gallatin, on his way to and from Pittsburgh on the road home to New Geneva, was accustomed to stop and spend the night with Lucas. After the convention at Pittsburgh, he called as usual and remained all night. He had with him a fresh proof of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. He showed them to Lucas, and asked what he thought of them. "In my opinion," he replied, "they are too strong." "I think so too," said Gallatin; "it was not my fault that they are so."

The next year Major Denny being elected Commissioner of the county, returned to his residence in town. Lucas and he sold their farms — Lucas to go to the newly acquired territory of Louisiana as a Territorial Judge. The five thousand dollars which he got for his Monongahela farm, he laid out in a Spanish grant, then adjacent to St. Louis—now the finest part of that city—and worth nearly as many millions of dollars. Whilst sitting as a judge in the territorial court, there came on for trial a case in which his old neighbor, Ebenezer Denny, was plaintiff, and Alexander M'Nair defendant. M'Nair was one of the first settlers, was married to a lady who belonged to one of the most influential French families. He was well known, very popular, and was elected the

first Governor of the State of Missouri, beating General William Clark. On the other hand, Ebenezer Denny was a non-resident, not present at the trial, and personally unknown to the jurors. Seeing, therefore, such odds against him, Judge Lucas undertook to charge the jury, which he did in French and English: "When I lived," said he, "in Pennsylvania, I was the next neighbor to the plaintiff; we differed in politics—we were opposing candidates for office, but there never was a more honest man. It is impossible that he could set up any claim that was not just and true." The jury, without leaving the box, found a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount he claimed.

Although it appears from his correspondence, that he was an applicant for office at the organization of the new counties in Western Pennsylvania, it is very certain that he never received any civil appointment whatever from the government, State or Federal. This may have been owing to a diffidence which kept him in the background, or a soldierly stiffness which made him a bad courtier. In his letter of the 14th December, 1796, to General Harmar, the intimate personal friend of Governor Mifflin, he says quite as much for his competitor, George Thompson, as he does for himself.

About the beginning of the present century, he entered into partnership in business, with Anthony Beelen, a Belgian, introduced to him by his father, the Austrian Minister, Francis, Baron de Belen Bartholf. Denny and Beelen were concerned with Lafleur, or "Falure," a Frenchman, in a glass works, probably the second or

third factory of the kind established at Pittsburgh. It was on the north bank of the Ohio, opposite the ripple at the head of Brunot's, the first island; hence the name—"*Glass-house Riffle.*"

In 1803, he was Treasurer of Allegheny county. He appears first on the list of the County Treasurers — and was again Treasurer in 1808.

In 1804, Ebenezer Denny was appointed a Director of the Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania, established that year at Pittsburgh. This was the first bank west of the mountains. "The Miami Exporting Company" was not then a bank, and did not become so until afterward. Three years subsequently a bank was started in Kentucky, under the name of "The Kentucky Insurance Company." It was, in reality, an institution for banking purposes. Like the bank established the same year in Nashville, it failed, as did the Bank of Kentucky and its branches, some years after.

The Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh was subsequently transferred to and merged in the office of the Bank of the United States. Thomas Wilson, who had been a Teller in the Bank of Pennsylvania, subsequently, through the influence of Langdon Cheves, was made principal Cashier of the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. In this capacity Wilson again visited Pittsburgh during the great money pressure and general insolvency of 1819. He came out with full powers to settle with the debtors of the western offices. Major Denny, then a Director of the Branch of the Bank of the United States, was engaged by several

of the principal debtors of the Branch, to endeavor to induce Wilson to accept of property in settlement. He was selected for this purpose, from his own perfect solvency and freedom from debt to the bank, and from the confidence which Mr. Wilson had, when in the office here, reposed in his judgment and integrity. Notwithstanding that the property of the Pittsburgh debtors was offered at a low valuation, it was refused. Similar offers in Cincinnati were, fortunately for the bank, accepted.

In the first Board of Directors of the Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh, five of Major Denny's associates had been officers in the army of the Revolution: Presley Neville, Abraham Kirkpatrick, Adamson Tannehill, George Stevenson and John Wilkins, Jr. James O'Hara, who succeeded John Wilkins, the first President, was the President when the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania was transferred to, and merged in the office of the Bank of the United States. Although not an officer in the Revolutionary war, he was a Commissary and Quarter-master General during the subsequent Indian hostilities, and at least a coadjutor with the army in the Indian prolongation of the War of Independence. James O'Hara was a man of foresight and enterprise. In partnership with Major Isaac Craig, he established the first glass works, and was the pioneer in that branch of Pittsburgh manufactures; which next to, if not more than even iron, is the staple of the place.

A large proportion of the prominent citizens of Pitts-

burgh, at this early period, being, as it thus appears, retired officers of the army, they necessarily constituted a majority in the boards of trustees of the Church, of the Academy and the Bank. Nor does it appear that the Bank of Pennsylvania, or its successor, the Bank of the United States, had any reason to regret their confidence in these gentlemen. Only one other branch of the United States, the office at Mobile, lost less money, or was more successfully managed. If in one or two instances directors were indebted to the institution, their liabilities were fully liquidated by their estates. To these brave men the country was a debtor when they died, and continues so to the descendants of most of them. But no one lost by them.

It is remarkable how many of the original settlers at Pittsburgh had been officers in the Revolutionary army: Colonels John and Presley Neville, William Butler; Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard; Majors Isaac Craig, Ebenezer Denny, Edward Butler, Alexander Fowler; Captains Abraham Kirkpatrick, Adamson Tannehill, Uriah Springer, George M'Cully, Nathaniel Irish, John Irwin, Joseph Ashton, James Gordon Heron; Lieutenants Josiah Tannehill, William M'Millan, Gabriel Peterson, — Ward; Surgeons'-mates John Wilkins, Jr., George Stevenson, John M'Dowell. They made quite a colony of retired officers at *De-un-da-ga.*

In 1805, Major Denny made preparations to move to the Mississippi, in hopes that a southern and milder climate would agree better with the failing health of one dearer to him than life. His old military friends,

Colonel Sargent, Dr. Carmichael, and farther down the hospitable coast, the Butlers, were ready to receive them with open arms. He had a house engaged in Natchez, and built a barge for the purpose of conveying his family down the river, when the beloved person for whose benefit the removal was intended, got worse, and died on the first day of May, 1806, in her thirty-first year, leaving three sons, Harmar, William and St. Clair; and two daughters, the youngest an infant, and following its mother in a few days.

There are some old inhabitants of Pittsburgh who remember that young mother and lamented wife — her graceful manners — her delicate but elegant form — expressive and beautiful features, and mind surpassing the graces of her person; who, if they have ever read the inscription on her tomb in the old Presbyterian graveyard, written by Alexander Addison, must have felt that it was no common-place exaggeration, but like everything from his pen, worthy of his warm heart and sound judgment, and a just tribute to loveliness and virtue

For several years after this period, Major Denny obtained from the War Department the contracts for the supply of rations to the troops at Fort Fayette and at Presqu' Isle, still retaining, in connection with these engagements, his mercantile and commission business, at the north-west corner of Market and Third streets, in a house which he built of the bricks of Fort Pitt.

On the declaration of war with England, his contract obliged him to supply the rations at Erie on thirty days notice. After the surrender of Hull, large quotas of

militia were suddenly ordered to certain points on the lake shore. The contractors in Ohio and Indiana claiming the benefit of that clause in their contracts which entitled them to thirty days notice, did not attempt to meet the requisition. Major Denny was the only contractor who did not claim the benefit of that provision. In Ohio and Indiana they all failed. He proceeded promptly and at all sacrifices, to forward the supplies to the post at Erie. This he did in spite of the enhanced price of provisions and cost of transportation. Of course he lost a great deal of money by his patriotic — I may say, military spirit on that emergency. However, Colonel Eustis, the Secretary of War, seeing that he was the only western army contractor who did not take advantage of the terms of his contract in that respect, directed him, in addition to his own proper posts in Pennsylvania, to furnish, also, the supplies to the North-western army; which he did, and so much to the satisfaction of General Harrison, that at the close of the campaign and successful termination of the war, he wrote a complimentary letter to Major Denny, thanking him for having discharged his commissariat duties with so much promptness, energy and ability, and ascribing much of the success in the prosecution of the war in the North-west to his assistance.

Major Denny managed this business through well chosen agents, without leaving home, unless to go to Washington for the settlement of his accounts. He paid these agents liberally — with the principal one in Ohio, John Waddel, of Chillicothe, he divided his profits.

When Pittsburgh, by an act of the Legislature, on the

18th March, 1816, was incorporated into a city, Ebenezer Denny was elected the first Mayor. He declined a re-election, and retired from all public employments, except that of Director in the Branch of the Bank of the United States, and afterward of the Bank of Pittsburgh, in which he was a large stockholder; and where, from his great experience, perfect independence, judgment and integrity, he had some influence, which he used with discrimination and liberal spirit. Latterly he spent, also, a portion of his time in the discharge of some private trusts which devolved on him by the death of personal friends; and in improving his estate at the mouth of Deer Creek. In the summer of 1822, whilst on a visit to the Falls of Niagara, in company with his only daughter, he was taken ill, and with difficulty reached home, where he died, on the 21st of July, 1822, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Last winter, his Diary, or "Military Journal," was shown for the first time, to a few friends in Philadelphia, at whose instance the Historical Society of Pennsylvania resolved to publish it. For convenience in correcting the proofs, it was agreed to stereotype it in Pittsburgh. There would have been, however, nothing inappropriate in its first seeing the light in the city of the Revolution, where his services began, and where they ended.

In prefacing the publication of the Journal with an imperfect Memoir of his life, it may be said for apology, in the words of Tully:

Hæc scripsi non otii abundantiâ, sed amoris erga te.

Appended are several letters of General Harmar, now for the first time published. Many of them illustrate the Diary. The temptation could not be resisted of including some for their own attraction and public interest. They sustain, throughout, the General's high military reputation and character for vigilance and discipline. They show that, with similar views to those of General Clark, he continually pressed upon the government the policy and necessity of conquering the Indians by first taking the "western posts."

General Harmar was tall and well built, with a manly port, blue eyes, and keen martial glance. He was very bald, wore a cocked hat, and his powdered hair in a cue. Such was his appearance, as described to the writer by the late Harmar Denny, on his return to college from his first visit to "Harmar's Retreat," on the east bank of the Schuylkill, near Gray's Ferry. As he approached the house, before he was half way up the lawn, the General, who was standing in the porch, knew him by the likeness to his father, and hailed the young collegian, with the grace, the dignity and scholarship of the old school—thus apostrophizing the virtues of his ancient friend:

Salve pietas! Salve prisca fides!

Jos. Hauman

MILITARY JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY.

Carlisle, *May* 1*st*, 1781.—The Pennsylvania Line, after the revolt and discharge of the men, last winter, were reduced to six regiments; the officers ordered to different towns within the State to recruit. An appointment of ensign in the 7th had been obtained for me in August last; the 7th and 4th were incorporated, and under command of Lt.-Col. Comt. William Butler, rendezvoused at this place—companies now about half full. The effective men were formed into four companies, and marched to Little York; I was arranged to one of the marching companies, Samuel Montgomery, captain, and George Bluer, lieutenant. All the recruits fit for service, from the different stations, were brought to York, formed into two regiments of eight companies each, destined for the State of Virginia. A few days spent in equipping, &c., and for the trial of soldiers charged with mutiny, General Anthony Wayne, the commanding officer, influenced, no doubt, by experience of the revolt last

winter, expresses a determination to punish, with the utmost rigor, every case of mutiny or disobedience. A general court martial continued sitting several days; twenty odd prisoners brought before them; seven were sentenced to die. The regiments paraded in the evening earlier than usual; orders passed to the officers along the line to put to death instantly any man who stirred from his rank. In front of the parade the ground rose and descended again, and at the distance of about three hundred yards over this rising ground, the prisoners were escorted by a captain's guard; heard the fire of one platoon and immediately a smaller one, when the regiments wheeled by companies and marched round by the place of execution. This was an awful exhibition. The seven objects were seen by the troops just as they had sunk or fell under the fire. The sight must have made an impression on the men; it was designed with that view.

York, *May 15th.*—Provision for transporting baggage, &c., and other necessary preparation. Commenced our march for Virginia; the weather pleasant and roads tolerably good. Passed through Frederick Town (Maryland), where were some British prisoners quartered; they turned out to see us. Next day reached the Potomac; here we were detained for want of craft—boats few and in bad condition. The artillery passed over first (a battalion of artillery accompanied the brigade). The second flat-boat had left the shore about forty yards, when the whole sunk. Several women were on board; but as hundreds of men were on the bank,

relief soon reached them; none were lost—got all over. Proceeded a few miles and encamped. Struck our tents every morning before day. About eight or nine o'clock, as we found water, a short halt was made, the water-call beat; parties, six or eight from each company, conducted by a non-commissioned officer, with canteens, fetched water. Seldom allowed to eat until twelve o'clock, when the arms were stacked, knapsacks taken off, and water sent for by parties as before. Officers of a company generally messed together, sometimes more; one of their servants carried cooked provisions for the day; no cooking until night. Not acquainted with the country on our route, but understood that we were marching much about — very circuitous — keeping off the Blue Ridge close on our right. This to avoid the enemy and secure our junction with the Marquis Lafayette.

June 18*th.* — Joined the troops under command of Lafayette. The Marquis had marched two or three days to meet us. His men look as if they were fit for business. They are chiefly all light infantry, dressed in frocks and over-alls of linen. One day spent in washing and refreshing—in fixing arms, carriages, &c., and served out ammunition. Move toward Richmond, where Lord Cornwallis with the British army lay. Heard that his lordship was employed burning and destroying warehouses of tobacco, all the public store-houses, &c. Passed through Richmond toward Williamsburg after the enemy — joined by Baron Steuben with some new levies. Near Bacon's Bridge the British turned upon us; our advance pressed them too close. The army was formed

for a fight — they did not come on. General Wayne very anxious to do something. Colonel Simcoe, who commands the British legion (horse and mounted infantry), is constantly committing some depredation abroad, and foraging for their army. Wayne hears of him — our brigade leave their tents and baggage, march at dark, with piece of white paper in each man's hat — flints taken out. At day-light reach place called the Bowling Green, where Simcoe had been the evening before. This was a severe march for me — found myself asleep more than once on the route. Returned and met the baggage. A detachment from the brigade put under command of Colonel Richard Butler. After a variety of marching and counter-marching, Butler at length intercepts Simcoe; a smart skirmish takes place; Wayne supports Butler, and Simcoe retreats. Here for the first time saw wounded men; feelings not very agreeable; endeavor to conquer this disposition or weakness; the sight sickened me. This little engagement within six miles of Williamsburg, where the enemy were encamped. Pennsylvania troops retreat — advance again. See the Marquis' light troops but seldom—know they are not far off. Kept constantly on the move. Hear that the enemy have decamped and preparing to cross James river at Jamestown. Our brigade move down; lay on arms all night about nine miles from the enemy. At day-light move on; middle of the afternoon of the 6th of July firing ahead. Our advance drove in the enemy's pickets, marching at this time by companies, in open order. My captain (Montgomery) fell behind his company where

my place was, talked with me; gives me a lesson useful to me. When perhaps within one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy, we closed column and displayed; advanced in battalion until the firing commenced, and ran along the whole line. A regiment or more of the light infantry and three pieces of artillery were in the line. Saw the British light infantry, distinctly, advancing at arm's-length distance, and their second line in close order, with shouldered musket, just in front of their camp — their infantry only engaged. The main body were discovered filing off to the right and left, when orders were given us to retreat. My captain, Montgomery, received a shot in his foot and had hopped back in the rear; Lieutenant Bluer being absent, the charge of the company devolved on me; young and inexperienced, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, had like to have disgraced myself—had eat nothing all day but a few blackberries — was faint, and with difficulty kept my place; once or twice was about to throw away my arms (a very heavy espontoon). The company were almost all old soldiers. Kept compact and close to our leading company, and continued running until out of reach of the fire. The enemy advanced no farther than to the ground we left. We could not have been engaged longer than about three or four minutes, but at the distance of sixty yards only. Our loss is said to be upward of one hundred killed and wounded; among the latter twelve officers, one of whom, Lieutenant Herbert, taken prisoner; a few of the wounded not able to get off, were also taken. The artillery horses all killed; two pieces were lost.

Retreated two miles to very commanding ground, where we met the Marquis with our main body; halted and had some Indian meal served out, the wounded dressed, &c., and before day changed our ground and encamped about five miles from the field.

July 7th. — An officer, surgeon, and a few men, sent with flag to bury the dead, &c. This was done in company with an equal number of the enemy. Our wounded who were prisoners, had been properly treated. The British moved from Jamestown. About a fortnight after the action, visited the field; could trace plainly the ground occupied by both, from the tops of the cartridges which lay in a line; the distance between about sixty paces. The army marched and crossed James river at Westover, the seat of Colonel Bird, said to have been once the most wealthy planter in the State; the improvements superb, saw nothing like them before. Kept at a respectful distance from the enemy; rather between them and the route to North Carolina. Some idea of their design to return to the southward. Report going of a French fleet below. This news confirmed—great joy—army on the alert.

Sept. 1st. — Army encamped on the bank of James river — part of French fleet, with troops on board, in view. Recrossed James river and encamped at Williamsburg. Army in high spirits—reinforcements coming on.

14th.—General Washington arrived; our brigade was paraded to receive him; he rode along the line — quarters in Williamsburg.

15*th.*—Officers all pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief; go in a body; those who are not personally known, their names given by General Hand and General Wayne. He stands in the door, takes every man by the hand—the officers all pass in, receiving his salute and shake. This the first time I had seen the General. We have an elegant encampment close to town, behind William and Mary College. This building occupied as an hospital. Williamsburg a very handsome place, not so populous as Richmond, but situate on evenly, pretty ground; streets and lots spacious—does not appear to be a place of much business, rather the residence of gentlemen of fortune; formerly it was the seat of government and Dunmore's late residence. A neat public building, called the capitol, fronts the principal street; upon the first floor is a handsome marble statue of William Pitt.

The presence of so many general officers, and the arrival of new corps, seem to give additional life to everything; discipline the order of the day. In all directions troops seen exercising and manœuvring. Baron Steuben, our great military oracle. The guards attend the grand parade at an early hour, where the Baron is always found waiting with one or two aids on horseback. These men are exercised and put through various evolutions and military experiments for two hours — many officers and spectators present; excellent school, this. At length the duty of the parade comes on. The guards are told off; officers take their posts, wheel by platoons to the right; fine corps of music detailed for this duty, which strikes up; the whole march off, saluting the

Baron and field officer of the day, as they pass. Pennsylvania brigade almost all old soldiers, and well disciplined when compared with those of Maryland and Virginia. But the troops from the eastward far superior to either.

25th.—Joined by the last of the troops from the eastward. French encamped a few miles on the right; busy in getting cannon and military stores from on board the vessels.

28th.—The whole army moved in three divisions toward the enemy, who were strongly posted at York, about twelve miles distant. Their pickets and light troops retire. We encamped about three miles off—change ground and take a position within one mile of York; rising ground (covered with tall handsome pines) called Pigeon Hill, separates us from a view of the town. Enemy keep possession of Pigeon Hill. York on a high, sandy plain, on a deep navigable river of same name. Americans on the right; French on the left, extending on both sides of the river; preparations for a siege. One-third of the army on fatigue every day, engaged in various duties, making gabions, fascines, saucissons, &c., and great exertions and labor in getting on the heavy artillery. Strong covering parties (whole regiments) moved from camp as soon as dark, and lay all night upon their arms between us and the enemy. Our regiment, when on this duty, were under cover, and secured from the shot by Pigeon Hill; now and then a heavy shot from the enemy's works reached our camp. Our patrols, and those of the British, met occasionally in the

dark, sometimes a few shot were exchanged—would generally retire. Colonel Schamel, adjutant-general to the army, with two or three attendants, on a party of observation, ventured rather close; they were seen and intercepted by a few smart horsemen from the British. Schamel forced his way through, and got back to camp, but received a wound, of which he died next day. His death was lamented, and noticed by the Commander-in-chief in his orders. Possession taken of Pigeon Hill, and temporary work erected. Generals and engineers, in viewing and surveying the ground, are always fired upon and sometimes pursued. Escorts and covering parties stationed at convenient distances under cover of wood, rising ground, &c., afford support. This business reminds me of a play among the boys, called Prison-base.

At length, everything in readiness, a division of the army broke ground on the night of the 6th of October, and opened the first parallel about six hundred yards from the works of the enemy. Every exertion to annoy our men, who were necessarily obliged to be exposed about the works; however, the business went on, and on the 9th our cannon and mortars began to play. The scene viewed from the camp now was grand, particularly after dark — a number of shells from the works of both parties passing high in the air, and descending in a curve, each with a long train of fire, exhibited a brilliant spectacle. Troops in three divisions manned the lines alternately. We were two nights in camp and one in the lines; relieved about ten o'clock. Passed and repassed by a covert way leading to the parallel.

Oct. 11*th.*—Second parallel thrown up within three hundred yards of the main works of the enemy; new batteries erected, and additional number of cannon brought forward—some twenty-four pounders and heavy mortars and howitzers. A tremendous fire now opened from all the new works, French and American. The heavy cannon directed against the embrasures and guns of the enemy. Their pieces were soon silenced, broke and dismantled. Shells from behind their works still kept up. Two redoubts advanced of their lines, and within rifle shot of our second parallel, much in the way. These forts or redoubts were well secured by a ditch and picket, sufficiently high parapet, and within were divisions made by rows of casks ranged upon end and filled with earth and sand. On tops of parapet were ranged bags filled with sand—a deep narrow ditch communicating with their main lines. On the night of the 14th, shortly after dark, these redoubts were taken by storm; the one on our right, by the Marquis, with part of his light infantry—the other, more to our left, but partly opposite the centre of the British lines, by the French. Our batteries had kept a constant fire upon the redoubts through the day. Belonged this evening to a command detailed for the purpose of supporting the Marquis. The night was dark and favorable. Our batteries had ceased—there appeared to be a dead calm; we followed the infantry and halted about half way—kept a few minutes in suspense, when we were ordered to advance. The business was over, not a gun was fired by the assailants; the bayonet only was used; ten or

twelve of the infantry were killed. French had to contend with a post of more force—their loss was considerable. Colonel Hamilton led the Marquis' advance; the British sentries hailed them — no answer made. They also hailed the French, "Who comes there?" were answered, "French grenadiers." Colonel Walter Stewart commanded the regiment of reserve which accompanied the Marquis; they were immediately employed in connecting, by a ditch and parapet, the two redoubts, and completing and connecting the same with our second parallel. The British were soon alarmed; some from each of the redoubts made their escape. The whole enemy were under arms—much firing round all their lines, but particularly toward our regiment, where the men were at work: the shot passed over. In about three quarters of an hour we were under cover. Easy digging; light sandy ground.

15*th*.—Heavy fire from our batteries all day. A shell from one of the French mortars set fire to a British frigate; she burnt to the water's edge, and blew up — made the earth shake. Shot and shell raked the town in every direction. Bomb-proofs the only place of safety.

16*th*.—Just before day the enemy made a sortie, spiked the guns in two batteries and retired. Our troops in the parallel scarcely knew of their approach until they were off; the thing was done silently and in an instant. The batteries stood in advance of the lines, and none within but artillery. This day, the 16th, our division manned the lines—firing continued without intermission. Pretty strong detachments posted in each battery over night.

17*th.*—In the morning, before relief came, had the pleasure of seeing a drummer mount the enemy's parapet, and beat a parley, and immediately an officer, holding up a white handkerchief, made his appearance outside their works; the drummer accompanied him, beating. Our batteries ceased. An officer from our lines ran and met the other, and tied the handkerchief over his eyes. The drummer sent back, and the British officer conducted to a house in rear of our lines. Firing ceased totally.

18*th.*—Several flags pass and repass now even without the drum. Had we not seen the drummer in his red coat when he first mounted, he might have beat away till doomsday. The constant firing was too much for the sound of a single drum; but when the firing ceased, I thought I never heard a drum equal to it—the most delightful music to us all.

19*th.*—Our division man the lines again. All is quiet. Articles of capitulation signed; detachments of French and Americans take possession of British forts. Major Hamilton commanded a battalion which took possession of a fort immediately opposite our right and on the bank of York river. I carried the standard of our regiment on this occasion. On entering the fort, Baron Steuben, who accompanied us, took the standard from me and planted it himself. The British army parade and march out with their colors furled; drums beat as if they did not care how. Grounded their arms and returned to town. Much confusion and riot among the British through the day; many of the soldiers were intoxicated; several attempts in course of the night to break open

stores; an American sentinel killed by a British soldier with a bayonet; our patrols kept busy. Glad to be relieved from this disagreeable station. Negroes lie about, sick and dying, in every stage of the small pox. Never was in so filthy a place — some handsome houses, but prodigiously shattered. Vast heaps of shot and shells lying about in every quarter, which came from our works. The shells did not burst, as was expected. Returns of British soldiers, prisoners six thousand, and seamen about one thousand. Lord Cornwallis excused himself from marching out with the troops; they were conducted by General O'Hara. Our loss said to be about three hundred; that of the enemy said not more than five hundred and fifty. Fine supply of stores and merchandise had; articles suitable for clothing were taken for the use of the army. A portion furnished each officer to the amount of sixty dollars.

20*th*.—Joined by a new raised regiment from Pennsylvania. Officers hastened to partake of the siege, but were too late. British troops march into the interior—to Winchester and other places. Visit Gloucester, small village opposite York; nothing seen there. Some of our officers return to Pennsylvania, others take their place. Visit Williamsburg in company with young gentlemen of the country, on horseback; spend a few days very agreeably. Militia employed leveling the lines. Our brigade prepare for a long march.

Nov. 1*st*.—Three regiments of Pennsylvania, a detachment of artillery, and Maryland troops, commence their march for South Carolina — General St. Clair, the com-

manding officer. Easy, regular marching; roads generally good, through sandy country. Pass through Richmond and Guilford, in North Carolina, where General Green and the British had a hard fight; also Camden, where Gates was defeated. Halted at least one day in the week for purpose of washing and refreshing.

Jan. 4th, 1782. — Joined the troops under General Green at Round O, in the State of South Carolina. Moved to Pond-Pond; here we lay some time. Rice farms around this neighborhood — the fields almost all under water; immense quantities of ducks; excellent sport at times. Planters return to their homes — live in style. Army change their ground; march to Ashley. Was on picket the night before we reached Ashley; got exceedingly wet — it rained all night. Marched next morning in wet clothes twelve miles, to Ashley, exposed to very hot sun; laid up with fever — carried to hospital; as soon as able, returned to camp. Hospital very disagreeable place — all sick, and some continually dying. Attendance good; surgeons very kind; furnished with some stores, sugar, tea and molasses. Continued weak and unfit for duty for some weeks. Ashley a very good position—ground high and dry; but it is now midsummer and sickly season. Men die very fast; lost several valuable officers. Ashley river low; full of alligators.

August. — Camp continued on bank of Ashley river, eighteen or twenty miles above Charleston. Enemy confine themselves to city. Their light troops and horse advanced five miles, at place called Quarter House.

Armies both seem disposed to be quiet; ours in no condition for doing much. Some talk of peace, and of the enemy evacuating Charleston. Detailed for command. Joined a captain of the Maryland line; marched with two sergeants, two corporals, and thirty men, for Georgetown, about sixty miles distant, coast-wise. Escorted a brigade of wagons loaded with rum for the army. Country appears deserted; the few people we saw looked bad enough, poor and dejected; they fled from us, and in some instances hid themselves. Farms on this route have been neglected; exposed to the incursions of the British. Negroes and stock either removed or taken. Fell in with an alligator, twelve feet in length, in the middle of the road; supposed that his pond had dried up, and that he was in search of another; soldier shot him.

September.—Our camp very thin; not more than three relieves of officers and men for the ordinary duties. Hospitals crowded, and great many sick in camp; deaths so frequent, the funeral ceremony dispensed with. Provisions scarce and very indifferent; the beef brought from the back counties of North Carolina, by the time they reach the camp, poor indeed, and must be unwholesome. Commissary's yard and slaughter place commonly short distance from camp. Soldier going there in morning about killing time, met his comrade returning in; asked how was the beef this morning? other replied, that it took two men to hold up the creature until the butcher knocked it down. Says the other, And why

didn't he knock it down as it lay? Flour a rare article. Troops have lived chiefly upon rice, now and then a small allowance of Indian meal served out — rice very good for the sick, but rather washy for duty men. Governor Hamilton, of this State, himself and family, quarter at a pleasant seat, two miles in rear of camp — General Green not quite so far; each has a subaltern's guard. Very fond of getting one or other of these guards better fare than we have in camp. Officer considered and treated as one of the family.

October.—Camp at Ashley Hill. Ranks thinned very much; deaths not so frequent. Our situation as to ground, a handsome one, and, as far as I can judge, eligible, but assuredly the climate is severe upon northern constitutions. Gentlemen who can afford it, reside during summer in the city and spend the winter in the country. An unpleasant week's command. At a bridge over Ashley, six or seven miles from camp, where the great road from Charleston to the upper country crosses, a subaltern and thirty men have been stationed. It became my turn. Orders were to suffer no people to pass or repass without proper permit. It was now pretty well known that the enemy would soon evacuate the city. Many poor devils had taken protection and followed the British in; provisions scarce in town, and those people sick of their situation—they were anxious to get back to their old places of abode in the country. Some very miserable objects came out—whole families, battered and starving. Was sure, upon my representation, leave

would be given to let them pass. Stated the business in writing, and dispatched a sergeant. No—ordered not to let them pass; thought this an unnecessary cruelty.

Dec. 13*th.* — Had been expecting, every day for a month past, to hear of the intended evacuation of Charleston. The Governor's guard was an object at this time, as the officer commanding would, of course, accompany or escort him into the city. I was so fortunate as to have the guard this day, when advice was received that the British would embark next morning. A few hours for the Governor to get ready, we set out in the evening with one tumbrel, containing books, papers, &c., and reached the city early next day. Saw the last of the enemy embark in their boats and put off to the shipping. An immense fleet lay in sight all day; found the city very quiet—houses all shut up. A detachment from the army had marched the day before to take possession as soon as the English would be off. Guards stationed at proper places, and small parties, conducted by an officer, patrolled the streets. Charleston a handsome town, situate on neck of land between the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers; Cooper river, however, appears to be the only harbor. Town here fronts the east; business all done on this side. Second and third day people began to open their houses and show themselves, and some shops opened. Stayed a week, and returned to our old encampment.

30*th.* — Broke up our camp. Pennsylvanians have been reduced, by deaths, desertions, &c., and were now incorporated into one regiment of six hundred men.

Supernumerary officers went home to their own State. Lieut.-Col. Commt. Josiah Harmar, who had acted as Adjutant-general since our junction with General Green, took command of this regiment.

Jan. 1*st*, 1783. — Arrived on James Island, and encamped contiguous to a very beautiful forest of pine. Had with us one complete regiment of the Maryland line, a battalion belonging to South Carolina, (which was all the troops that State had), and six companies of artillery, two of whom were from Pennsylvania, the rest from Virginia. Colonel Hamilton commandant of artillery. The woodland an elegant situation for hunting. Each company had its ground marked out, when the whole went to work, and in course of a week were completely housed. Some of the companies had more timber upon the ground they occupied than was necessary for their huts. The infantry were in a line; artillery in rear of right wing formed a park. The order and formation such as our encampment.

January. — Cantonment on James Island. Weather moderate. Troops employed finishing huts and opening the streets; not a stump left. Top of timber and brush carried to certain distance, and built up in a circular line round the cantonment. This brush barrier, or fence, could not be passed without much trouble; it served instead of sentinels round the camp. Openings left at particular places, where the guards or sentinels were stationed. Still kept a front and rear camp guard, but the usual number lessened.

February.—Very pleasant weather for working parties;

some appearance of spring. Officers and men all in comfortable quarters. Provisions good; very little occasion for fire through the winter.

March and April. — Delightful season. James Island a little paradise — the country flat, but sandy and dry. Troops healthy. Our regiment receive new clothing; officers also are furnished in Charleston with a small supply. Make a very fine appearance. Exercised often; perform the parade duties in absence of the adjutant — very fond of this. Officers go frequently to the city — police boat for that purpose; row there in half an hour. A short walk from the huts, and we have a view of Charleston, of Hadrel's Point, which is the main land east, and of Sullivan's Island, east across the channel from James Island. Visit Fort Sullivan, celebrated for the defense made against Sir Peter Parker. Curtains and embrasures faced with the cabbage tree — soft spongy wood, admirably calculated for this use. Saw where a great many shot from the British ships had entered the logs, but no damage done; holes almost closed up. From Sullivan's Island to Hadrel's Point was formerly a bridge—it was burnt by the British. Fort Sullivan still in very good condition; but Fort Johnson, upon James Island, immediately opposite (across the channel), nearly demolished. Plenty of fish and oysters all round us, and what the folks here call stone crabs, very fine; they are like the common crab, but much larger, and soft shells. Officers in rotation dine with General Green, at his house in the city. Colonel Stewart, of the Maryland regiment, on an excursion in the

country, was cast from his horse into the ditch and broke his neck. Officers of the army (those on duty excepted) attended his funeral in Charleston. Preliminaries of a peace arrive. Great rejoicing—grand review—dinner —fire works, and dance at the cantonment. Ladies and gentlemen come over on this occasion from Charleston.

June 1*st.*—Preparations making to send home, by sea, the Maryland and Pennsylvania troops; transports wanting. A New England brig arrives, and contracts to carry two companies. Bond's and Irwin's companies ordered to embark. I had belonged to the latter since the action of Jamestown, when Captain Montgomery, who was wounded, returned to Pennsylvania. Had a very pleasant passage of seven days to Philadelphia, where we landed on the 15th. Mrs. Green, wife of the General, came passenger with us. Quartered in the Philadelphia barracks, along with about one hundred and fifty new raised men. Our companies of the southward appear to great advantage. The near approach of the disbandment of the army, and a tardiness in Congress to make provision for a settlement, produced dissatisfaction among the officers in Pennsylvania, as well as among those at head-quarters. To us who were strangers in our own State, this business was unknown. About eighty men from the recruiting rendezvous at Lancaster, turned out and marched to Philadelphia without an officer; were joined by the recruits in the barracks; marched to the State House where Congress were, frightened that body, and broke up their sitting. This proceeding took place about noon, when the officers belonging to the two com-

panies from Charleston were at Governor Dickinson's on an invitation to dinner. The alarm reached us—hastened to the barracks — long roll beat; our two companies fell in to a man; marched to the Governor's house in Market street; several troops of militia horse paraded; great uproar in the city. Although the insurgents had posted sentinels round the State House, the members of Congress made out to escape, after passing a resolution to assemble at Trenton. The officers who were concerned in this business, and who had privately directed the movements, now thought of themselves; they fled and escaped in a light boat down the river; men soon dispersed. A few days brought General Howe from headquarters with a brigade of light troops, for purpose of suppressing the insurrection. Most of the officers who were here previous to our arrival were arrested, and a few taken in close custody. General court martial ordered for their trial. Government were desirous of getting rid of the army in as quiet a manner as possible; at this particular period it was thought best not to be too rigid. Howe had his cue; officers released. Captain Alexander Parker (my uncle), on furlough from Lancaster, was returning home; obtained leave of absence, and accompanied him to Carlisle. Our regiment from southward not yet arrived.

Dcc. 3*d.*—By proclamation of Congress, the American army was disbanded; a few men, under the command of a captain at Fort Pitt, excepted. A resolution soon followed for raising a regiment for the purpose of garrisoning the western posts—this regiment to consist of ten

companies, portioned as follows: Pennsylvania—4 companies and Lieut.-Col. Commt. Jersey—1 company. New York—3 companies and a Major. Connecticut—2 companies and a Major.

1784.—The States made the appointments in the first instance, which were confirmed by Congress. The officers were all from those who had been in service. Colonel Harmar was in France; had been sent with the ratification of the treaty. The command of the new regiment was reserved for him, and indeed the Pennsylvania appointments not made until his return. Governor Mifflin at this time was President of Congress, and very popular in Pennsylvania, and Harmar's great friend; but the Colonel's character as a military man stood high; the regiment he brought from the southward eclipsed every thing. I was nominated by Harmar one of his ensigns; the appointment reached me at Carlisle. As soon as they had a knowledge of my acceptance, recruiting instructions were sent me. Marched about a dozen men down to Philadelphia; joined the camp on west side of Schuylkill. The four companies nearly full. Some time spent in equipping and exercising the recruits.

September.—Marched through Lancaster by Carlisle, &c., to Pittsburgh. Waited for the arrival of commissioners appointed to hold a treaty with the Indians. Treaty expected to be holden at Cuyahoga. Commissioners late getting out, season advanced, plan changed, and Indians invited to attend at Fort M'Intosh, about thirty miles below Fort Pitt, on bank of Ohio; to which place we repaired, and found exceeding good quarters.

January, 1785.—About four hundred of the Senecas, Delawares and Wyandots come in. After considerable difficulty, a treaty is agreed to, but with much reluctance on the part of the savages. Amongst the Indians are a number of women and children. The whole a very motley crew—an ugly set of devils all—very few handsome men or women. Colonel Harmar did not join us until we reached Fort Pitt, at which place I was appointed to do the duty of adjutant; this had always been favorite duty of mine.

Fort M'Intosh, 1785.—Winter passed away—no orders for marching; did expect, as soon as the season would permit, to march for Detroit. April and May delightful season—frequent excursions into the country—fishing and hunting. Officers visit Fort Pitt, where we left a lieutenant and thirty men. Fort Pitt and Fort M'Intosh both handsome places. Fort Pitt erected by the British long before the late war—an elegant work, regular pentagon; vast labor and money expended here. Ditch and parapet with pickets and fencing, and every thing in the most complete order. Very considerable quantity of military stores at this place. Indians come in to trade, will get drunk—a white man killed by a drunken Indian at Pittsburgh—people rise and attempt to put the Indian to death. Express sent to Colonel Harmar at M'Intosh. I was ordered to Pitt with certain instructions to Lieutenant Ashton, who commanded there. The Indian guarded to county jail. Pittsburgh in Westmoreland county. Hannahstown, about thirty miles east, the seat of justice. Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas,

arrived at Pitt. He had signed the treaty of M'Intosh; was dissatisfied — his people reflected on him; came to revoke. Colonel Harmar was informed of this, and invited up to Pitt—I accompanied him. Meeting appointed in the King's Orchard. Speeches on both sides taken down. Cornplanter dismissed with assurances, &c., but no revoking.

Summer nearly gone. Men have been enlisted but for one year; orders to re-enlist for three. Of the four companies, we re-engaged seventy effective men — rest all discharged. Officers went on the recruiting service. Anxious to know how I was to be disposed of. Proper complement of officers kept for the new company. Did count upon returning over the mountains, but would have preferred remaining at Pittsburgh. Dislike the recruiting service. The new company ordered to prepare to embark for the Great Miami, where another treaty is intended to be held. Generals Butler and Parsons, two of the commissioners, arrive. The party all ready to descend the river, when the Colonel instructed me to prepare and accompany them; this to me was very unexpected. The company has its complement of officers; I was extra. Must move.

29*th*.—I agreed with Mr. Duncan, about the wintering of my mare; he promising to keep her safe in his meadow, while the grass continued, and charge nothing—but the remainder of the winter she should be well fed and kept on good hay, for thirty shillings per month. Having arranged affairs as well as the shortness of my time would afford, I set off for M'Intosh, in company

with Mr. O'Hara, but did not arrive until the next morning; the water being exceedingly low, and Mr. O'Hara so unfortunate as to run aground in the night. At ten o'clock set out on horseback for Fort Pitt to make some arrangements; stayed one day. Found the party had sailed. A corporal and six men with small boat left for me. After receiving from the Colonel particular orders relative to myself, I embarked again with Mr. O'Hara. and in a few hours, with brisk rowing, overtook the commissioners, who had halted at Little Beaver creek, where Captain Hutchens and several surveyors were encamped. Here we stayed some minutes. About ten o'clock at night we got to where the troops were encamped, near the mouth of Yellow Creek, 30th September, 1785. A very pretty looking company, commanded by Captain Doughty, of New York, arrived at M'Intosh the same day the other left.

Oct. 3d. — Reached Wheeling. Joined by several of the contractor's boats loaded with provisions. Our fleet now consists of twelve small keels and batteaux, besides two large flats called Kentucky boats. The flats carry cattle, horses, &c.; the others, the troops and goods for the Indians. Ohio river remarkably low — two pilots employed to keep ahead and point out the channel; notwithstanding, some of the boats frequently ground.

8th. — Encamped opposite mouth of Little Kanahwa. My uncle, Captain Parker, owns the ground above Kanahwa; crossed over in light boat; his improvements made just before the war scarcely visible; place grown up; pretty tract of land. Settlement and pre-emption

entitle him to fourteen hundred acres. Will be valuable property not long hence.

11*th.*—Passage very tedious; water low and frequent interruptions; made not more than ten and fifteen miles a day. Fine opportunity of hunting and fishing along the shore. Game plenty, particularly turkeys. Some elegant bottoms on both sides of the river; but generally opposite the most prominent parts of the bottoms, the hill makes in and forms what is called narrows. Colonel Monroe, a member of Congress from Virginia, on a visit to Kentucky, took passage with the commissioners. Obliged to meet Congress early in October, and anxious to get on; a light boat got ready; a sergeant, myself, a corporal and six privates, embark with the Colonel — leave the fleet, and after rowing about fifteen miles arrive at Great Kanahwa.

12*th.*—Spent this morning with Colonel Lewis, who is proprietor of the place. Several families reside with him on the point—it is a very pretty situation. Set out about eleven o'clock; kept half our crew at the oars all night.

13*th.* — In the evening passed the Three Islands; narrow channel here; Indian crossing place. Frequent attacks on boats at this place; saw nothing; arrived safe at Limestone, late.

14*th.* — Colonel Monroe having procured horses to carry him to Lexington, left me at ten o'clock. Nothing remarkable here; place only settled this spring; indifferent kind of folks. This is said to be the best and nearest landing place to Lexington — if so, it will in a short time become of some importance.

18*th.*—Fleet arrive—make a short halt and pass on. I follow in my light boat; encamp early in the evening; men cook provisions for next day.

22*d.*—Arrive at the Great Miami. Best ground for our station about a mile above the mouth, where the boats were brought and every thing unloaded. All hands set to work chopping, clearing, &c., and preparing timber for block-houses and pickets; and on the 8th instant had ourselves inclosed. Hoisted the United States flag, and christened the place Fort Finney, in compliment to Captain Finney, the commanding officer. Our work is a square stockade fort; substantial block-houses, two stories, twenty-four by eighteen feet in each angle; curtains one hundred feet of stout pickets, four feet in the ground, and nine feet above; situate one hundred and fifty yards from the river, on a rising second bank. A building, eighteen by twenty feet, within the east and west curtains, for the accommodation and reception of contractors' stores and Indian goods; and one small, but strong building, centre of north curtain, for magazine. A council house, twenty by sixty, detached, but within gun shot. Commissioners and their followers pitch their tents within the fort, and erect wooden chimneys. Season very favorable, but growing cool. Men employed finishing the block-houses, and clearing off the timber and brush to some distance outside.

Nov. 13*th.*—Corporal Thompson arrived with his boat, in company with General Parsons, one of the commissioners.

24*th.*—Messengers who set out from Pittsburgh to the

Indian towns, to invite the Indians to a treaty at this place, arrive with six chiefs of the Shawanees, Wyandot and Delaware nations, to wit: Captain Johnny, or Red Pole, Half-King, Crane, Pipe, Wingeman and White-Eyes — all very glad to see us *brothers*. Some grog and smoke produced.

25*th*. — Wrote to Colonel Harmar at Philadelphia, an account of our passage, &c., and of the arrival of the Indians, state of the troops, &c.

27*th*.—Caught two large Kentucky boats floating down empty — had been unloaded at Limestone, and carried away by a sudden rise of water. Boards served us for floors, sentry boxes and other useful purposes. About one hundred Indians assemble and encamp a couple of miles from us; the greatest part Wyandots, a few Delawares.

Dec. 5*th*. — Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons leave us on a visit to the Falls of Ohio, about one hundred and fifty miles below. Captain Finney and myself, with a party of soldiers in boat, go to Big Bone Lick, thirty miles down; dig up and collect some astonishing large bones.

Dec. 6*th*. — Spent this day in the Indian camp by invitation; treated with attention. It was a high day among them, a frolic and feast; several games played— exceedingly active at the game our boys call shinny or common. About forty young men were paraded for this game, equally divided; the ground had been cleared for the purpose. At the centre was a painted post, decorated with pieces of cloth suitable for leggings and breech

clouts; the winning side got these. Their ball the size of a man's head, made of deer's hair, covered with skin; their sticks four or five feet long, resembling a racket. The ball was thrown in the air—all endeavored to catch it upon his racket; a fellow would take it in this way and keep in until another more smart overtook him or knocked it abroad, when another scramble took place. They insisted on my joining in one of these games. Several other games were played; some with beans and dishes or bowls, in imitation of backgammon. Our dinner was served upon skins spread on the ground. Had walked to the camp, but must ride back; girl and horse got for me.[1]

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[1] Elsewhere in a note he says: "I left the garrison in company with Mr. Zane (a man who has been brought up during his youth amongst the Wyandots), to share in the amusements of a frolic that was to take place this day. Accordingly, when we arrived at their encampment we were taken very friendly by the hand, and desired to fall in with them at a game of common. The first thing did was to divide the whole into two parties; this ceremony was performed by two old sachems; and then took post on each side of an elegant decorated post of sugar tree, on the top of which was as much new scarlet cloth as would make a pair of leggings; around the middle was bound a pair of scarlet garters. These were the prizes. When all was ready, one of the old men gave a halloo as a signal to make ready, which was answered by another from each of the company; at that instant the ball was thrown up in the air, then at it we went, and contended for half an hour. At length it was sent past the stage, and the person who struck it declared it aloud, which ended that game—he being presented with the leggings. And in the same manner was the garter played for; he who hit the ball the last got the prize.

"After dinner another play was introduced, which was called *mamondys*. Having all sat down in a circle, they placed some blankets in the centre, and two of them began the play, with a wooden dish and six plum stones in it, marked on each side something like dice. They shook the dishes about, and from certain marks one would soon exceed the other. With

7*th.* — The Indian women assembled in our council house and desired the attendance of the chief captain (Captain Finney). We all turned out, heard an oration from one of their elderly ones, the conclusion of which was a request for something to warm their hearts.

12*th.*—Accompany Isaac Zane, a white man, and two Indians, on a hunting party. We took a light boat, went up the river seven miles, and pitched a camp; had an Indian woman along to keep camp. First day, too anxious in pursuit of buffalo, lost my course; intended to have kept near to Zean; he was led off. I was alone and followed by wolves, yowling occasionally. Zean heard the report of my rifle and came up; was very glad to see him. Concluded to return to camp; he conducted me some distance. Before we parted he killed a doe; opened the udder with his knife—milk collected, of which I drank. Got to camp and stayed there. Party returned home the fourth day, and brought with us the meat of three buffaloes, two bears and parts of a number of deer.

15*th.* — The same day we returned from our hunt, it rained excessively hard. We were joined by our commissioners from the Rapids, just at the landing; they having received a plentiful quantity of wet that occasioned a near resemblance to drowned rats.

18*th.* — Three Shawanee Indians arrived with a speech

these and other affairs we diverted ourselves until it grew late, when taking our leave, one who had expressed a great deal of friendship for me, remarked that the road was dirty, that we had three miles to go, and that I would be much the better of a horse—if I would accept of one he would soon have him procured; I assented; accordingly a squaw was dispatched, and soon after we were both mounted and conducted home by two *females.*"

from their nation, informing us of their being on their way to this place. This was very agreeable news to our commissioners.

19*th.* — Major Montgomery and Mr. Elliot were sent in a boat, with a sergeant and four privates, up to Limestone, in search of several horses that were stolen from the Indians here, and were heard of at that place.

20*th.* — Commissioners returned a few days since from the Falls; disappointed at not finding more Indians come in. Those with us, about one hundred, are principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at M'Intosh was held. The Shawanees are the fellows the present treaty was intended for; they seem to hang back. Indians treated very kindly — dancing parties in our council house almost every afternoon; the men jump, stamp and exert themselves much, but all keep good time; females glide round, and have a gait or step peculiar to themselves. An old fellow has a keg, with skin drawn over each head—sort of drum on which he beats time — considerable regularity — dance in a circle round the fire — can't dance without something to make their hearts warm, and generally break up pretty merry. Very few went home sober, but those who did were sure to get drunk at night. They would come next day and peremptorily demand a quantity of rum; on being refused they set homeward very much offended, declaring that the next day should move them off, never to be seen as friends again. This day our clothing came.

Dec. 20*th.* — The commissioners are of opinion that a post will be continued here; they think it an eligible

position until we are in possession of Detroit, &c. It is convenient to the principal body of the savages who inhabit the head waters of the Miami, and we are about seventy-five miles north of Lexington, to which place a road is now marked out; the Falls of Louisville, below, and Limestone settlement above.

21*st.* — Sent a return to Colonel Harmar by Mr. Hulings, inclosed in a letter, the copy of which is as follows:

Colonel — Since my last, the commissioners after sending back the Shawanee chiefs, to bring in their nation and others on the Wabash, &c., have taken a trip to the Rapids, where they left General Clark. Whether he will return or not, is a doubt with us; but General Butler and General Parsons say he will be up in a few days. Our reason for thinking he will scarcely return, is, that while here he had received almost daily complaints from the people on the frontiers of Kentucky, against the Indians, and reflecting on him for trifling, as they think, with some of the savages, while others are plundering *them*. The people are very ripe for a campaign into the towns.

A runner arrived two days since with a speech from the Shawanees, informing us of the whole nation being on their way to this place. But after they do arrive, there are several more nations to be coaxed, so that from every appearance, next spring will bring up the rear of the treaty Much more indulgence is allowed the Indians here than was at M'Intosh. Dancing, playing common, &c. (for which they are well supplied with materials to make their hearts merry), are frequent amusements here. Major Finney is determined they shan't act *Pontiac* with him, for every precaution is taken at that time.

The commissioners are of opinion that this place is the most advantageous spot to keep troops at, until we have possession of others farther northerly, as it is convenient to the principal body of the savages, and nearly an equal distance from the Rapids, the interior part of Kentucky, and Limestone, which is the upper part of the settlement. There has been a road marked out from this place to Lexington, their capital town,

from which we can have any supplies we might stand in need of. The distance is about seventy-five miles.

The companies' clothing came to hand yesterday, all in good order. The commissioners made a compliment to Major Finney of as much white half-thicks as made each man a pair of over-alls; they have been worn for some time past, so that their sufferings are not so great as you might imagine. Opportunities are so seldom up the river that I can't possibly send you returns as regular as I could wish, but none shall be neglected.

I have the honor to remain, your very humble servant,

E. D.

23*d*. — General Clark arrived from the Rapids, which was a very agreeable surprise, as few of us expected him.

25*th*.—A very dull Christmas (Sunday).

28*th*.—The chiefs of the Delaware nation (particularly Captain Pipe) made proposals to our commissioners to send once more to their towns, to know why a certain tribe of their's did not come in agreeably to a promise, and likewise, if the commissioners would send a messenger, he should be accompanied by their runners into the Shawanee towns, and to the more western towns, to bring a final answer from them. All was agreed to; and at the request of the commissioners, Mr. Doyle prepared to accompany Mr. Ranken.

29*th*.—New deputation sent to bring the Shawanees, if possible, to treat — Lieutenant Doyle went along — all mounted. The caravan took up the line of march, and was expected would move on in state. Mr. Doyle, with his friend, Mr. Ranken, and a young man, an assistant, with two Indian men and several women, formed the line. They had not been long on the road until a very heavy cold rain came on, from which they must have suffered

much; but as the party consisted of old warriors, it was expected they would not be discouraged at any difficulties of that kind, but proceed as men employed on such business ought to.

31*st.* — I set out in company with two Shawanees to provide a few turkeys for the first of the year, and at the request of General Parsons, agreed to meet him, General Butler and Major Finney, at a large pond about six miles up the river; they to go in a boat. After we had rode the distance of four or five miles (for our party was all on horse-back; I was mounted on one of the Indians' wife's horse and saddle), we got amongst the turkeys; and the first thing done was to *charge* upon them, so as to cause them to fly up on the trees, and all the howlings and frightful screeches I ever heard, were given to effect this purpose. As soon as the turkeys rose we alighted and commenced firing. In this manner we sported with two flocks, until we had as many as we could conveniently carry home; then steering our course toward the boat, met a horse belonging to the Indians, and the only one that was left behind; he missing his old companions, got on their track, and having a bell on, alarmed the boat, just as it was putting into the place appointed for our meeting, and occasioned them to make to the other side of the river; so we were obliged to return home without the refreshment which we expected from them.

Jan. 1*st*, 1786. — Agreeably to an invitation, the commissioners and their gentlemen dined with Major Finney, Mr. M'Dowell and myself, in our hut, where we spent a few sociable hours in memory of the late year, and drink-

ing success to the ensuing one. Just as tattoo was striking off, a gun was fired on the river and a light shone that did not a little alarm us, but upon examination was discovered to be a boat passing; we made her come to shore. One of her hands was an old man, who had been lately made a prisoner by the Shawanees. His story is as follows: About two weeks since, himself and his two sons were hunting on the head waters of Yellow Creek; at a time when the sons were after their horses, two Indians came on him, and after inquiring of his company (for they could talk English) moved off very rapidly, taking him along as a prisoner; he says they treated him tolerably, only that his hands were bound; but when they arrived at the Indian town, an old man took the direction and loosed his arms, returning to him his blanket, which had been taken, along with a rifle and some ammunition. He was kept about two hours, when the same old man, who could talk very good English, conducted him from the town, placed him on a path that led to where two of the old man's sons were hunting; he at the same time gave the prisoner a horse, three pints of parched corn and a shell to deliver to these boys, and then sent him off. The prisoner found the boys and delivered the shell; they knowing the horse, and understanding the token, conducted the prisoner down to the Three Islands, about eleven miles above Limestone; and just as they approached the river they discovered a boat on its way down. The Indians being apprehensive of some danger from the boat, did not wait for its coming ashore, but after bidding farewell with the white man, took their

horse, which he rode, and moved off. The white man hailed the boat, got on board, and so arrived at this place.

2*d.*—Major Montgomery and Mr. Elliot arrived with two of the horses that they went in search of; the third one they were not able to get, but expect that Colonel Boon, a very worthy gentleman at Limestone, will recover him.

8*th.*—Lieutenant Doyle arrived, and informed us that after a disagreeable march of sixty miles, they were met by a party of one hundred and fifty Shawanees, on Sunday, the first of the year. After consulting, it was agreed that he and Mr. Rankin should return, and Wengeanem, the Indian chief, go forward as far as was first intended; indeed, the chief thought, that as Lieutenant Doyle and Mr. Rankin were under his protection, that he ought to have the right of ordering them, and did order them back with the Shawanees. Lieutenant Doyle says that the few nights he was with them their march was conducted with great regularity; that the whole appeared to be formed in certain squads, equal in number, and when any of their young men or hunters would kill meat, it was brought, laid down by the chiefs, one of whom cut it into as many shares as there were squads or fires (for every squad had their own fire) and sent it off by men, who appeared to serve as fatigue men for the day; so there was no one lived better than another, but all fared alike. Every evening after they halted and fixed themselves properly, Captain Johnny, a young Indian who lived with the chiefs, and seemed to act as an *aid*, would take a drum made out of a keg, with skins tied over each

end, and beat some kind of a signal; on hearing which, the whole would assemble and spend the greatest part of the night in dancing and feasting. Lieutenant Doyle continued with them until the whole got within twenty miles of the Fort, when hearing that they intended resting at that place, while another party of the same number would join them, he took leave of Mr. Ranken and came with his suite to the garrison.

9th.—George White-Eyes and Pipe's son, set out with dispatches for Muskingum, the purport of which was to have stores and liquors sent down.

14th.—We received information of the Shawanees intending to come into the council house, and that on their approach they would salute us with three rounds per man. Our commissioners knowing them to be a very proud nation, thought it best to pay them the same honors, and ordered preparations in a style rather degrading to the United States, which was, that a party of soldiers should cook and serve out provisions to them in the council house. Now with them, the most decrepit old women are made choice of for that business; and nothing could have occasioned greater laughter than the appearance of soldiers carrying kettles of provisions to them. When the Indians saw them, they cried out, "There come the old women with warriors' coats on," &c. And who knows but they conceived us all old women clad in uniform. In order to return their salute, twelve men were ordered to parade, with three rounds of cartridges, and myself to command them. We waited their approach, which was very solemn. As they came

up they gave us Indian music, beat on a keg drum by one of the chiefs, the whole singing at the same time. Their line was formed in rank of file, the women bringing up the rear, all in very regular order. When their firing was over I commenced, and in the intervals gave them a tune on the drum and fife.

After all were seated, their chief warrior, Wiendoohalies, from Wapotomaky, rose and wiped our eyes, opened our hearts, &c. After which our commissioners delivered a speech, informing them of their commission and Congress' desire to treat with all nations between the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, north of the Ohio, and bidding the Shawanees welcome to the thirteen great fires; that at their next meeting the business would be entered into more fully. The Shawanees then desired to shake hands with the warriors; accordingly the officers paraded in the centre and received them all by the hand. A smoke from their pipes of peace took place next; and about dark a signal was given to march, and off they went.

19*th.* — It snowed until the ground was nearly six inches covered; but immediately after came warm weather which melted the whole, and caused the river to rise.

21*st.*—Bohengeehalus,[1] with about twenty Delawares, arrived. They were saluted in the same manner that the others were. Bohengeehalus is esteemed one of the greatest warriors now among all the Indians. After he

[1] Bohengeehalus, a very large stout man, brother of the "Grenadier Squaw."

had seated himself he discovered General Clark, and knowing him to be a great warrior, rose and saluted him very significantly—instead of taking hold of each other's hands, they gripped nearly at the shoulder, and shook the left hand underneath the right arms.

This evening we were entertained with the Shawanees dancing much in the same manner as was performed by the Wyandots, but the assembly was vastly larger. After they had gone through several of their common dances they prepared for a war dance. The Shawanees have a variety of dances; but the most pleasant one is their social dance, as it is interpreted. As many young men as please, form a ring round the fire, move, dance and sing love songs; the girls looking on for some time—at length they rise one after the other, as the spirit moves them, and seize a partner. The couple stick to each other, dancing and performing every possible gesture, but still keep in the ring, singing and beating time to their music. Now, while busily engaged, the parties exchange some articles of dress, or other things, as a token of their regard. The girls were very fond of getting a few of us engaged in this dance. But the war dance exceeds all—it was performed at the request of the officers. Eight or ten of the most active men stripped themselves quite naked, except the breech clout, painted their bodies and faces, so as to have a horrid appearance; armed with tomahawk and scalping knife, they formed a circle, danced moderately to a mournful kind of tune for ten or fifteen minutes, gave the war-whoop, and sat down together on seats placed for the purpose. They now hung

their heads—a dead silence for a short time; one gets up, dances and capers to the music — repeats his exploits, the injuries they had sustained, urging the others to be strong, and rise and revenge themselves upon their enemies. At length they are roused, one after the other, until all get up, when they commence the most tremendous yelling, jumping and figuring about in imitation of shooting, scalping and tomahawking, exerting themselves exceedingly, until a signal is given for silence. A short speech concludes.

24*th.*—The treaty concluded at M'Intosh was explained to Bohengechalus and his tribe, to their satisfaction.

25*th.*—One of the Shawanee chiefs died.

26*th.*—Shawanees occupied our long house in dancing every day, for ten days past. Officers and young gentlemen attending the commissioners very frequently join them. Business opened this day by an excellent speech from our commissioners to all the Indians — about four hundred present. The boundary lines, designating the lands allotted the several nations, were particularly described and pointed out on the map. They were told that as they had joined the English and taken up the hatchet against the United States, and the war having terminated in favor of the latter, and that the English, also, to obtain peace, had ceded the whole of the country on this side of the lakes to the Americans; that they, the Indians, must now look up to the Americans, and ought to be thankful if allowed to occupy any part of the country, which by the war they had forfeited; nevertheless, more perhaps than they expected would be done for

them, but they must leave hostages for their good behavior, &c.

27*th.* — Shawanees met in council house. Their head warrior, Kickwaypalathey, replied to the speech of yesterday; denied the power and right which the United States assumed; asked if the Great Spirit had given it to them to cut and portion the country in the manner proposed. The Ohio river they would agree to, nothing short; and offered a mixed belt, indicating peace or war. None touched the belt — it was laid on the table; General Clark, with his cane, pushed it off and set his foot on it. Indians very sullen. Commissioners told them it was well, that the United States did not wish war, that two days yet would be allowed to consider of the terms proposed, and six days more with provisions to return home; but after that to take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council broke up hastily. Some commotion among the Shawanees. Returned same afternoon and begged another meeting, when their old king, Molunthy, rose and made a short speech, presented a white string, doing away all that their chief warrior had said, prayed that we would have pity on women and children, &c.

Feb. 1*st.* — Treaty concluded and signed; presents delivered, and provisions furnished each tribe for six days. Five Shawanees left as hostages.

8*th.*—The commissioners, messengers and attendants, left us; returned in three boats. Wrote to Colonel Harmar at Philadelphia. Our commissioners were heartily sick of continuing so long at this place; their fare was so

indifferent for a month past, having nothing but whiskey with beef and bread. Fortunately a boat arrived two days before they determined to start, which supplied them with some liquors for their trip, and a small quantity of sugar, an article they have been out of since the rum was done. After they had prepared and determined to start up in boats, took leave of us in the afternoon, and hoisted sail. We fired a few rounds by way of a salute. They having a fine wind, and their boats, three in number, being well rigged with a sail each, soon got out of sight.

By Lieutenant Doyle, who accompanied the commissioners, I sent two returns to Colonel Harmar, one dated the 1st of January, the other the present date; they were both *inclosed in a letter* a copy of which is as follows, viz:

Colonel — We were agreeably surprised a few days after I wrote you last, with the arrival of General Clark in a small canoe. I think I mentioned his going to the Rapids with the other commissioners, and not returning with them. I likewise mentioned that the Shawanees were on their way to the treaty; it was true, but their movements were very slow, for they did not arrive until the 14th of January. Lieutenant Doyle and Mr. Rankin (one of the messengers) had set off to go to their towns, but meeting them about sixty miles distant, returned. Lieutenant Doyle's description of their march, and the mode of conduct since they arrived, confirms the character which we had of them, which is a proud, ambitious, smart nation. The young men seem to be under strict subordination to two or three old sachems. They have a white flag, which they marched in with, a drum and several other instruments of music. The pipe of peace is the most elegant I have ever seen. They have a greater command of their appetites than some other nations; as a proof, they absolutely refused receiving any liquor for some days after their arrival.

Twenty-first of January a tribe of Delawares came in. The leader's name is Bohengeehalus. It is said he is the principal warrior amongst the Wyandots and Delawares. Nothing more than an explanation of the treaty at M'Intosh was done with him.

Twenty-sixth, our commissioners delivered a speech to the Shawanees, setting forth their business, &c., and acquainting them of the country which would be allowed them. Next day a reply was made, in which they burlesqued the dividing of lands, and asked if the Great Spirit directed the Americans to cut and divide the land as was proposed; no, they did not understand that part. The Ohio, they thought, was the fittest line, and if we were satisfied, they would agree to let it remain the boundary. At hearing this we began to entertain different notions of matters, but the affair was soon cleared up. The commissioners did not attempt to touch the string which was given, and without rising, determined on an answer, which was, that if they did not agree with the terms proposed, in two days, they should then be furnished with six days provisions to carry them home, and no harm should be done them during that time; but after that take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council was not broke up more than fifteen minutes when a messenger came for the commissioners. After they had assembled, the chief took a white string and destroyed the whole of his former speech.

On the 1st instant the treaty was concluded with the Shawanees, and articles similar to those at M'Intosh were signed.

The Half-King of the Wyandots has acted meanly in the business of this treaty: he endeavored to prevent the Shawanees agreeing to our proposal, with a view, we suppose, of expecting a larger quantity of goods that he thought would be a drug on our hands; but when he found they desired peace, and were determined to agree, he then declared that he had not given an answer to the treaty at M'Intosh, nor would he give one here; but when the warm weather would come, he would then go to Congress and hear from them what was to be done with these lands. No reply was made to this. A few days after he desired a council for himself and the Delawares. When they convened, he rose and very strenuously insisted on the commissioners enlarging the country allowed his people and the Delawares. The commissioners told him that matter was settled, and they

would not make the smallest alteration. Captain Pipe, of the Delawares (who was sitting listening), rose and said, "Brothers, the Delawares are perfectly contented, they have land enough; and as a proof of our satisfaction, myself and another chief, with several young men (good hunters), will go as soon as we hear of the surveyors being out, and assist them to mark the lines, and (turning to the Half-King) you'll go too. The Half-King was so much confused he said nothing.

The Lord knows when we'll get rid of these creatures.

Major Finney does not expect to leave this place until further orders from you. He has lately received orders from Major Wyllys, dated at M'Intosh, to send him returns of the troops, and that only four rations (extra) were allowed to a complete company. The commissioners think it probable another treaty will be held next summer, somewhere to the northward of this place. They regret the misfortune of not holding this one somewhere near Detroit; however, they all clear themselves of that matter.

Our men have been kept in health with plenty of exercise; but in spring we may expect fever and ague, as the country about here is very low, and frequently covered with water.

Three privates of Captain Doughty's company and two of Captain Hart's, that were here, have returned with the commissioners.

With respect, &c.

E. D.

9*th*. — Captain Dunn had arrived the day before from Lexington, on his way to the Shawanee towns, where he intended spending winter. He took leave and set off with several of the Shawanee chiefs. General Clark left us this day for the Falls.

10*th*. — A canoe came down from Limestone, and informed us that this morning our commissioners were not more than seven miles up the river, but they had got under way early in the morning.

12*th*. — I wrote to Mr. James Parker at Lexington,

relinquishing all claims to our former connection, provided he would clear me of the obligation given Captain Parker for warrants. The bearer was Mr. West.

13*th.* — Mr. Sims passed for Fort Pitt, with whom I sent the following letter to Colonel Harmar:

COLONEL:—I forgot to mention that upon the arrival of the Wyandots, Shawanees and Delawares from White river, we were saluted by them, and having received notice of their approach and intention of firing, we, agreeably to the commissioners' request, returned the salute with three rounds of twelve men each time; and previous to the commissioners leaving the garrison to embark, Major Finney directed me to parade the company, march them down to the bank, which is about one hundred yards from our fort, and there to form, so as to present arms to the commissioners as they passed to the boats; this was done, and when they had taken leave and hoisted sail, I gave them a platoon by way of an acknowledgment.

General Clark left us for the Rapids on the 10th. He did not trouble us with much parade, neither did he take away any of our men. This last was a matter Major Finney endeavored to prevent as much as possible. There would not have gone half the number of soldiers from us up the river, only for the petty messengers who took up as much room as the commissioners, and occasioned a third boat. There were B——, M——, E——, and Mr. K——, all in constant pay at twenty shillings, three dollars, and twenty-five shillings per day, in proportion as they ranked. These men went out together to the towns, returned together, and were waiting here, when we arrived. The Lord knows what service some of them were of, for we can't imagine.

We are now clear of commissioners, messengers, Indians, and every kind of animal except five hostages. Such a sudden change makes me rather melancholy. I feel as if I ought to have gone with them; though my desire is to stay. I would be glad enough to be up, but the season is so cold, that I think the trip would be very disagreeable. I will be very thankful if you will put it in my power to go up in the beginning of

April, or as soon as convenient, and leave for a few weeks, that I might settle some affairs at Carlisle; for if we should go any farther off I shall despair.

E. D.

26th.—Captain O'Hara (the contractor) arrived with a large cargo of Indian goods and stores for the commissioners. He came in consequence of the dispatches sent by George White-Eyes on the 9th of January. This was a time when they expected all the western Indians. He likewise brought with him the settlements for last year's service, and two months' cash for the present, with six months' subsistence for the officers.

Captain O'Hara informs us that he lay with the commissioners the night of the 23d instant, about twenty-five miles below the Great Kanahwa; that Captain Beatty, our pay-master, was coming to this place to pay the troops the above mentioned money, but being very unwell, and having orders to return with the commissioners, he put the cash into his hands and went back.

March 1st.—Major Finney commenced the payment, and Captain O'Hara opened a cheap assortment of goods, which he disposed of to the soldiers as quick as they received their money.

3d, 4th and 5th.—After they had laid out the greatest part of their settlements for dry goods, reserving only a small share for liquor, they got permission to purchase the same, and toleration to get drunk, so that it would not interfere with their duty; but this charge had no effect; for three days there was scarcely one sober man in the garrison, and God knows how long they would have con-

tinued so, if the issues had not been stopped. So between the wet and dry affairs, Captain O'Hara will take nearly the same sum of money back that he brought, except what the officers received.

12*th.* — Two boats called from Fort Pitt, on their way to "O-post," loaded with liquors and flour.

17*th.* — A majority of the men in garrison are Irish. The soldiers requested to have the privilege of celebrating this day, as was customary. Accordingly the bung was opened and every man had permission to purchase and drink what quantity of liquor he pleased; and a pretty good portion did some of them take, for toward the evening we had not six men in the garrison fit for duty, not even the guard excepted.

18*th.* — G. Palfrey died from the effects of too much liquor—and was buried the next day.

20*th.* — Since our establishment at this place a few families had erected a station six miles below us, on the Kentucky side. This morning an express from them informed us that Indians had attacked two of their people, a short distance out, killed one and wounded the other. The wounded person escaped in. I took a light boat, with sergeant and twelve, hastened to the station; found the dead man scalped and cut in several places; buried him, assisted in securing the stockade, &c., and returned.

21*st.* — Mr. Bradshaw arrived about ten o'clock at night, with a boat loaded with provisions; likewise Mr. Devoire and Mr. Le Bere arrived on their way into the Indian country. Mr. Le Bere intends spending a few

weeks in the Indian towns and then return by way of Sandusky, to join his company at Muskingum.

24*th.*—This night the five Shawanee hostages deserted from their lodging, and pushed with great expedition toward the towns. They likewise took with them Mr. Sufferins' family, who were encamped about a mile distant—Mr. Sufferins being absent on a hunting party.

25*th.*—Our interpreter, Mr. Sufferins, came in; very much surprised at finding his people had gone off, and still more when hearing how the hostages had left us. This day we completed a block-house on the bank, to guard the boats.

26*th.*—Mr. Sufferins set off on purpose to overtake his family and the hostages, if possible, and to know the reason of elopement. But after riding twenty miles, only arrived at the place where they lay the night before. The distance he thought they might be in front of him, at the rate they had gone, discouraged him from pursuing any farther, and he turned back with the intention of preparing to go to their towns.

27*th.*—We were surprised by the arrival of Mr. Abner Dunn, an old officer, who had been to the Shawanee towns. He arrived with five Indians (Shawanees) and six white prisoners. Mr. Dunn informed us that their chief, with the six prisoners, had halted about five miles off, being doubtful of the manner in which they would be received, having the night before sent two runners with some tobacco for us to smoke until their arrival, and to get leave for their friends, the hostages, to go and meet them; but when the runners came and could see

no hostages they retired undiscovered, and informed their people, which alarmed them; however, Mr. Dunn prevailed on five of them to go in with him and the others to remain until he would send for them. The Indians soon found us to be friends, and sent for the remaining party. After they had all arrived, the White-Horn, their chief, seemed much astonished at the conduct of the hostages. Two speeches were delivered by Johnny Harris from Molunthy, their king; one of them consisted of professions of friendship, &c., the other was information respecting some parties of Cherokees that were out.

30*th.*—Major Finney delivered a speech to the Indians and sent a message to their king, thanking him for his information respecting the Cherokees, after which they marched off. The night preceding, a girl and boy of the prisoners that were delivered up yesterday, eloped.

31*st.*—This night Corporal Thompson and John Geary deserted, and took off one of our best boats.

April 1*st.*—Sergeant Wilcox pursued the deserters.

2*d.*—Captain O'Hara and Mr. Smith left us for Fort Pitt.

4*th.*—Mr. Dunn took leave for the Falls.

Copy of a Letter to Colonel Harmar, dated 31*st March*, 1786.

Sir—The Shawanees have been very slow in executing their business respecting the delivery of the prisoners. They overstayed the time agreed on better than a month; their delay, and an account from the station a few miles below (since evacuated), of five Indians attacking two men of the place, killing one and wounding the other, we suppose frightened off the hostages; for on the night of the 24th of March the whole of them eloped, and we have not heard from them since. But fortunately, two

days after there came in two chiefs with six prisoners, whom they delivered up, with a speech from their king apologizing for the delay, &c. We don't apprehend any danger from the Shawanees immediately, but there is now a number of others in the woods for war, that makes our situation rather unsafe. They have killed at Limestone and near the Falls — the last which I have mentioned above, was about four miles distant.

Captain O'Hara arrived here on the 26th of February with the arrearages of pay and clothing for the men who were in service last year; in six months notes and two months for the present in cash, and the same with six months subsistence for the officers. He brought with him a pretty assortment of goods suitable for the soldiers, which he let them have at reasonable prices. I believe he will take back all the notes and cash (which are the same to him), except what the officers received. I mentioned in a letter some months ago that the commissioners had made a compliment to Major Finney of cloth for over-alls for the men. Since, there has some alteration happened or otherwise it was a mistake in me, for as they went up the river they met Captain O'Hara near the Great Kanahwa, and turned the account over to him. He has charged each man that had them with his price.

There was a letter received from Mr. Armstrong, (to which he put his title, Lieut. 1st A. R.) for the purpose of acquainting us of his promotion.

Colonel—as I stand next on the list, am induced to beg your interest to fix me clear of the censure of a number of my friends. For certain it is that I have in some measure lessened, having once served as an officer a grade higher, and that at a more honorable time than at present. But the attachment I have to a military life, and the expectation of rising, persuades me to this duty, hoping that my friends, yourself in particular, will assist me in procuring a lieutenancy — what I once had the honor to hold under you.

I shall ever endeavor to render satisfaction for your assistance in this very material affair, as well as for many past,

While I have the honor to subscribe myself, &c.

E. D.

N. B. Sent a return of the troops with the above.

23*d.* — Captain Blue-Jacket, a chief of the Shawa-

nee nation, came in. He informed us of the good intentions of his people, and that a number of them would hunt this summer near this place, and would bring in the skins; begged that we would receive the Shawanees friendly. As a proof of his friendship, and that we might be assured the nation wished for peace, he left his son, a boy about eighteen years of age, to continue with us until some opportunity would offer for sending him home.

24*th.*—He took leave, and as he went off said he would go by a hunting camp where there were a number of Indians, and inform them how desirous we were to see them come in to trade.

25*th.*—In the evening there arrived two young warriors of the Shawanees, with a white boy, a prisoner, whom they delivered up to us; and after receiving a few presents, and being asked if they did not think the boy would run back again, they candidly told us, that he certainly would, if not bound or confined some way. This was enough. Though the boy seemed fond of having it in his power to go to his father's, but yet it was all affected; for in a few hours after a boat came along, bound for the Falls, in which he was put, and in a manner by force; for when he found there was no way of escaping he cried, and appeared to leave the Indian with more regret than he could have done if they had been bearing him away a prisoner from his mother.

26*th.*—Our friends, the warriors, left us, and took with them Blue-Jacket's son.

May 14*th.*—We have Shawanees with us every day.

The most of their hunting men are now in the woods around us, at the distance of twenty miles. They intend bringing their peltry to barter at this place. Several of the boys, and even one young woman of the prisoners, made their escape and returned to the Indians. The chiefs who have been in, particularly the White-Horn, say they never mean to break the chain of friendship that now subsists between the Americans and them, and threaten vengeance upon the first who infringes upon the articles of the treaty.

18*th.* — From a letter sent by Major Finney to the commanding officer at Fort M'Intosh, requesting a reinforcement of men at this post, and from several late reports of troops being on their way to us, we prepared a small boat and set out up the river, intending to sail two or three hours for amusement, at the same time thought it probable we might meet them. We had got about four miles, and halted at a spring, when we were very agreeably surprised by the arrival of Captain Ziegler's company of seventy men—Lieutenant E. Beatty, Doctor Allison, and the Major from Connecticut, Wyllys, commanding.

22*d.* — I received orders to prepare to go on command to the Falls of Ohio.

23*d.* — Set out with sergeant, corporal and twelve men in a barge, for Louisville. River very full. Landed next morning at the place—distance said to be one hundred and fifty miles—run it in twenty-four hours. Four Kentucky boats, which passed Fort Finney the day before I left it, were attacked at the mouth of Kentucky

river by the Indians on both sides of the Ohio, supposed to be in number two hundred — fortunately no other damage than a few horses killed. Very alarming accounts of the depredations of Indians in neighborhood of Vincennes — a settlement on the Wabash. Every day fresh accounts of mischief done in the upper counties and on Cumberland. People of Kentucky talk of an expedition against the Indians on the Wabash. Four days I remained at the Falls, and every day there were accounts of men being scalped between that and the upper counties. General Clark informed me that he had frequent intelligence from the different posts on the Mississippi and Wabash, which he took from the British last war, and that if something was not done immediately respecting that country, there will be much more difficulty in subjecting them than there ever was.

After many altercations between General Clark, myself and the two gentlemen who had the artillery in charge, they agreed I should have a piece, with a few shot, which I immediately had put on board.

28*th.*—Having procured a brass three-pounder, with a few boxes of suitable shot, left the Falls; embarked again for our Fort. River very high, and obliged to work up close along shore, giving the savages every possible advantage. This evening, about seventeen miles up, we discovered two bark canoes lying on the bank, and a number of trees barked, which we supposed had not been done longer than two days. We passed on as silent as possible. This night our cable and anchor

served to keep us in the middle of the river; but the river rose so high it was of no more use afterward.

30*th.* — About a mile below Kentuck we discovered some appearance of an Indian camp, and saw a black horse with a belt on. We passed the mouth of Kentuck in the night, and lay near a mile above.

31*st.* — We met with such strong water below and above the Big Bone, that we were obliged to drop the oars (though we worked fourteen,) and pull up by the bushes; lay this night five or six miles above Big Bone. We arrived safe at the Fort, near the Miami, in the afternoon, and were received with gladness.

June 1*st.* — Several Delawares came in, who seemed surprised at the field-piece which I lately brought from the Falls, and at our additions to the Fort.

11*th.* — Captain Pipe's brother, with three other Delawares, arrived with a speech from Pipe, the purport of which was, that he hoped we still held the chain of friendship fast, that was made between them and us, at this place, and informing us, that for his part, nothing should be wanting which was in his power to keep the Delawares and the Americans upon the most friendly footing, and begging we would treat his young men (a number of whom were hunting near us) as we have hitherto done.

13*th.* — Mr. Sovereign came in with the Shawanees with a speech from Molunthy, informing us that he was very glad to hear we treated his young men so friendly, and apologizing for the delay in delivering up the pris-

oners. He says the nation is divided; that the people of Chillicothe will not hear reason; they will not give the prisoners up. In fact, the plain English of which is, that a party of them are as much inclined for war as anything else, from the d——d lies imposed on them by British emissaries. They are fully of the opinion that their king and sachems have sold both land and warriors, and are determined not to agree to what has been done. Molunthy gives us information of four men being killed by the Mingoes, on the waters of the Muskingum. He says that he has advised the Mingoes and Cherokees to be quiet, but they would not hear him. He desires us to have patience. He is striving all he can to fulfill the promises made to our chiefs at the council fire.

14*th.*—Mr. Sovereign returned homeward with a speech to Molunthy, informing him that we still kept the road open, and hoped he would soon send in the prisoners; thanking him for the intelligence he sent, and begging he would endeavor to persuade his contentious people to listen to reason, otherwise the consequence would be fatal; we would wait with patience for a time, until he would fulfill the promises made to our chief at the great council fire, &c.

15*th.*—Major Wyllys left us in a small boat bound up the river, with whom I sent the following letter to Colonel Harmar, with an inspection return:

Sir — After the arrival of Major Wyllys and Captain Ziegler, I was ordered to the Falls to procure and bring up a field-piece, with ammunition, &c. I got a brass three-pounder, with about thirty rounds only of ball and grape-shot. And if it had not been for General Clark, who has

always been our friend here, I should have returned as I went, owing to a contentious set of men in civil office there, all of whom are candidates for something, and were afraid would be censured by the public for giving any of the military stores away, at a time when their country is suffering by savage depredations. True it is, that everywhere below us, the Americans have as much reason to be engaged in an Indian war as they ever had. They are daily losing men in the lower part of Kentuck settlement; all which aggravation could not unite the people in a sufficient body to carry on any kind of an expedition—such is the division amongst them.

I brought from the Falls, and delivered to Major Wyllys, all the intelligence I could collect, amongst which are the particulars of two skirmishes which the Americans at St. Vincent had with the Piankeshaw Indians in that neighborhood.

Some Shawanees and Delawares went with us as usual, professing much friendship. The arrival of Captain Ziegler's company has added much to the appearance of this place, and something to the other company. For since, a better spirit of emulation has subsisted, which has been of service. Captain Ziegler tells me the regimental book for last year was left at M'Intosh, and not used very well by the officers last winter; I am sorry for it, but hope you will get it. My coming away from that place in such haste occasioned several neglects; I even forgot my Bible with you.

We long to see you. With respects, &c.

E. D.

26*th.* — Captain Doyle arrived from M'Intosh; he informed us of the arrival of Colonel Harmar and lady at M'Intosh.

July 4*th.*—This day was celebrated with three rounds of small arms and three with the field-piece, after which the gentlemen all dined together. When dinner was over thirteen toasts were drunk, each accompanied with a round from the three-pounder, attended in the intervals by two drums, two fifes and a couple of excellent

violins. The evening was spent as well as circumstances would allow of.

5*th.*—Captain Beatty and Mr. M'Dowell left us, having been ordered, by Colonel Harmar, to go up immediately after the arrival of Mr. Doyle. With Mr. M'Dowell I sent a letter to Doctor M'Dowell, desiring him to ask Colonel Harmar for permission for me to go up, &c.

13*th.*—Major Finney received a letter from General Clark, informing him that on the 1st of August he intended marching into the Indian country, with fifteen hundred men, and requested that the field-piece which I brought up might be sent down against that time.

17*th.*—Corporal Thompson, Gairy, and two other deserters, were brought in by three men from Lexington, by whom Major Finney received an account from Colonel Patterson of orders being arrived from the State of Virginia to the County-Lieutenant of Kentucky country, directing them to plan and put into execution an expedition through the Indian country immediately. It is thought General Clark would command.

Captain Armstrong arrived with the boat and men which Major Wyllys took away. He brought a letter from Colonel Harmar to Major Finney, in which there was an order to send up Ensign Denny, for the purpose of acting as adjutant—to repair to a new fort at the mouth of Muskingum, called Fort Harmar, where the Colonel, with Mrs. Harmar, had arrived.

23*d.*—Embarked about noon, in a swift boat, with corporal and six choice men; rowed six oars. River in

good order. Anxious to make a quick passage. Had provisions for several days cooked, and boat fitted for anchoring in the stream, &c. Reached few miles above Little Miami.

24*th.*—Met the water rising.

25*th.*—Reached Limestone about same time of the day we left the Fort; this is coming at rate of forty miles a day. Stayed and cooked.

26*th.*—Work along. River risen five feet.

27*th.*—In the evening pass the Scioto river.

28*th.*—Within a few miles of Sandy. Water falling.

29*th.*—Pass Sandy and Guyandot.

30*th.*—Helped forward by a violent storm of wind and rain, directly up the river; reached Great Kanahwa.

31*st.*—Lay by drying our things and cooking.

August 1*st.*—Got within a few miles of Letart's Falls. Water rising rapidly. Met Mr. Le Bere in the evening.

2*d.*—Passed the Falls and anchored ten miles below Flin's Station.

3*d.*—Passed the Scotch Settlement and Flin's, and lay in sight of Little Kanahwa.

4*th.*—In the morning arrived at Muskingum, Fort Harmar, where I met with Colonel Harmar and a number of acquaintances. Here I was received as a brother officer might expect. Though I was ordered up in haste, yet I had some hopes of getting a furlough to go to Philadelphia, as I had not been absent during our service. Having hinted in a letter to Colonel Harmar, before I left the Miami, that a short furlough would be very acceptable and knowing, that if he could with any kind

of propriety grant it, he would, I deferred asking. Next day after my arrival he proposed a furlough; I thanked him and accepted it. But as I had no non-commissioned officer from the Miami, he thought it best to send my boat back under the care of Major North and Captain Beatty, just arrived and on their way to the Miami, and to take a passage to Fort Pitt with Mr. Bradford, who was to start on the 10th instant. Fort Harmar is unfinished. Doughty's company from New York, Heart's and Strong's from Connecticut, are here and at work.

9*th*.—Major North and E. Beatty got under way.

10*th*.—Received a furlough for two months; took passage with Lieutenant Bradford, who was ordered to Pitt for artillery, stores, &c.

16*th*.—Arrived at the mouth of Little Beaver; found Mr. Hutchens and the old surveyors encamped there. Hamtramck's company, from New York; Mercer's, from New Jersey, and M'Curdy's, of Pennsylvania, escorting the surveyors.

17*th*.—Reached M'Intosh. Captain Ferguson's company here. Here Mr. Bradford had business, which would detain him a day. Major Finney and myself having no time to lose, agreed to walk to Fort Pitt, thirty miles distant, knowing that when the boat did move, it would take her two days, as the water was very rapid.

18*th*.—We breakfasted with my old friend, Captain M'Curdy, and set off for Fort Pitt. I tripped along after Major Finney exceedingly well, for near two-thirds of the way; but having been confined so long to my boat, and not accustomed to walking, I got much

fatigued; however, we reached Fort Pitt about two o'clock, P. M., where we refreshed ourselves upon a tolerable dinner and a glass of claret.

August 22*d.* — I received my mare, left in care of Mr. Duncan, in miserable order.

23*d.* — Left Fort Pitt in company with Mr. James Sample. The weather being favorable, we traveled very agreeably together as far as Shippensburg, where we arrived on the 28th.

29*th.*—I got to Carlisle. Time short—staid a few days. Left Carlisle for Philadelphia, at which place I arrived on the 8th September.

Sept. 12*th.* — Having completed my business, I parted with my friends, James Campbell and several other acquaintances, and left Philadelphia, with once more my face turned toward the western country.

13*th.*—Got to Carlisle.

20*th.* — Left my friends at Carlisle.

25*th.* — Arrived at my uncle, John M'Clure's, on the Monongahela, seven miles above Pittsburgh, where I left my mare, saddle and bridle, for further use.

26*th.* — Went in canoe to Pittsburgh, where I met Major North and Captain Beatty, just arrived from the Falls of Ohio, where they left Major Finney and Captain Ziegler with their companies.

30*th.* — Left Fort Pitt in the boat in which North and Beatty came, and proceeded to Muskingum, at which place I arrived the 3d of October, in the morning.

Fort Harmar, *Oct.* 3*d.* — John Pratt, formerly Lieutenant and Quarter-master in the 4th Pennsylvania reg-

iment, had originally been of Connecticut, came out now as one of the officers of that State, and appointed Quarter-master, myself announced as adjutant. Strong, Pratt and Kingsbury belonged to one company and formed a mess; I was invited to join them. Very pleasantly fixed.

10*th.* — Captain Doughty and Captain Strong left us with leave of absence until spring.

15*th.* — Captain Tunas, a Delaware Indian, arrived with information that the different nations of Indians from the Wabash, who had collected at the Shawanees towns with a determination to visit this country, had returned home; that one hundred and twenty Shawanees, Mingoes and Cherokees had left Wapotomeky with intention to strike the people on the Ohio; that but few of the Shawanees continued; the greater part of them were in the Kentucky country, scalping and stealing horses. He says Captain Brant, a civilized Indian, had been at Sandusky this summer, but his business was not known. Mr. Johnston, the British agent, had asked all the red people to Niagara; that the Shawanees and a number of other nations had gone, but not any of the Delawares; that Johnston told them they would be no people in a short time, if they did not unite. They should all be one people, and what they did, either to make peace or war, would then be strong.

Nov. 13*th.* — Three men arrived from Limestone, who had been with Colonel Logan against the Shawanee towns. They informed us that Logan left Limestone the 6th of October, marched with eight hundred men in six days, to the Shawanee towns, where he found some men

and a number of women. The warriors had all set out to meet General Clark, who was marching with fifteen hundred men toward the Wabash, and only a few sachems remained at home with the squaws. Colonel Logan destroyed all their towns, killed and scalped eleven Indians, amongst whom was the king Molunthy, and carried twenty-eight Indian women and children prisoners to Danville, where they were kept in confinement. The old king was tomahawked after he had delivered himself up. Logan found none but old men, women and children in the towns; they made no resistance; the men were literally murdered.

15*th.* — Left Fort Harmar in a light boat, a sergeant and twelve men; arrived at Fort Pitt the 22d.

24*th.* — Rode to Hannahstown, accompanied by Mr. Brison. Viewed several farms and tracts of land in Westmoreland county, belonging to Colonel Harmar, property which he got with Mrs. H.

Dec. 5*th.* — Was ready to return, but the heavy snows and frost had filled the river with ice.

9*th.*—Ohio frozen over in many places. Monongahela and Allegheny both passable on the ice.

13*th.*—Had several days of soft rainy weather. Rivers broke up. The rise of water was sudden. Several boats loaded with goods, &c., carried down with the ice passed Pittsburgh. An attempt made to save them, but fruitless. We had great difficulty to preserve our boat.

16*th.*—Ohio pretty clear of ice. Loaded our boat and sailed for Fort Harmar, where we arrived on the 19th, in the morning. In my absence, Lieutenant Pratt, the

Quarter-master, attended to the ordinary duties of adjutant, but much left undone. Regimental book opened, monthly returns of the regiment, &c., to be made out and transmitted to the War Office.

Fort Harmar, *Mouth of Muskingum River, Jan.*, 1787. —No change of movement of any consequence. Officers and men in close quarters. Officers pass and repass up and down to the several posts. Ferguson's company of artillery at M'Intosh. Hamtramck, M'Curdy and Mercer had put up quarters, after the surveying was over, at a place which they called Fort Steuben, about thirty miles below M'Intosh. Doughty, Strong and Heart with their companies at Fort Harmar. Finney and Ziegler's companies had evacuated Fort Finney and erected a small work opposite Louisville. One other company, commanded by Captain Burbeck, of New York, stationed at West Point.

Receiving and digesting the monthly returns of the troops at all these different posts, was a business of some trouble. Those from the post commanded by Hamtramck less difficulty with. Colonel Harmar thinks him one of his best captains.

Feb. 4th. — Mr. M'Dowell arrived on his way to the Rapids of the Ohio. Fortunately there came with him a supply of provisions for the troops at Fort Harmar. For upward of thirty days past they had been on half allowance of flour, with whiskey only one-half their time.

8th.—Major Wyllys and Mr. M'Dowell left us for the Rapids.

19*th.* — Captain Heart and Lieutenant Beatty arrived from Fort Pitt. The latter brought with him near two months pay and three months subsistence, chiefly in paper money, and likewise part of the annual allowance of clothing for the troops. The money being a particular currency of one State only, the officers at this post (Fort Harmar) objected to receiving it; for though it might answer their present purposes, being in the neighborhood of the State, yet it might be setting a precedent for others, which would be very injurious. Several days spent in deliberating upon the receiving this paper money. Sometimes it was in contemplation to send it back; again they would conceive it more to their advantage to keep it. However, as the Colonel had some business up the river, he postponed the payment until (we suppose) he would consult the officers up the river. Accordingly he, Beatty, Pratt and Mr. Spear set off the forenoon of the 25th.

25*th.*—This afternoon we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Major Finney from the Rapids, after a passage of seventeen days to this post. The Major being on the way to visit friends down the country, he only tarried until next morning and set off up the river in hopes to overtake Colonel Harmar.

March 6*th.*—Mr. Lakesang called, being on his way to the Rapids of the Ohio. He continued over night. By Mr. Lakesang I forwarded to Major Wyllys three hundred hard dollars, and a receipt for thirteen hundred dollars, left with me by Beatty to be sent by the first

conveyance (Captain Heart witness). By the same boat, and under Mr. Lakesang's care, I sent the proportion of clothing for the troops at the Rapids, and likewise a new rifle, complete, for Lieutenant Doyle, with a number of letters, &c.

26*th.* — Our commandant, with his suite, arrived from Fort Pitt, about seven o'clock at night, and disappointed the garrison of a little parade that was intended in receiving him.

27*th.* — Major Hamtramck arrived, having been directed by the commandant to muster the troops.

29*th.* — Muster and inspection took place, after which a few manœuvres, &c.

April 1*st.*—The Major left us, bound for Fort Steuben.

10*th.*—Captain Heart ordered to proceed with his company to a place called Venango, on the Allegheny river, about one hundred and fifty miles above Pittsburgh; there to erect a suitable work. This place had formerly been occupied by French and English troops, but burnt down.

15*th.*—Colonel Harmar, Lieutenant Beatty and Pratt, left us, bound for the Rapids. Soon after their departure, Major Hamtramck arrived, having been ordered down to command at Muskingum, owing to the Colonel's absence.

May 10*th.* — At night our Colonel arrived from the Rapids of the Ohio, to no little satisfaction of all the officers at Fort Harmar.

15*th.* — Major Hamtramck set off, accompanied by Captain Beatty, for Fort Steuben. Captain Beatty goes

on to New York to obtain a settlement for the regiment up to the first of the present year.

17*th.*—We were surprised with the arrival of Captain Strong, from Connecticut, with dispatches of very considerable importance to Colonel Harmar, from the War Office.

25*th.* — In consequence of the dispatches brought by Captain Strong, Fort Steuben has been ordered to be evacuated; accordingly Lieutenant Kersey, with sixty men, arrived here from that place. Major Hamtramck, with the remainder of the troops, are expected daily. Hamtramck promoted to Major, in room of Fish of New York, who resigned. Lieutenant Smith, captain in place of Hamtramck.

27*th.* — Captain Strong, with his company, embarked on board keel boats for the Rapids of the Ohio.

June 1*st.* — Major Hamtramck, with the whole of the troops under his command, arrived safe.

2*d.* — Captain Mercer, with part of his company, and Lieutenant Kersey, set off for the Rapids, on board two family boats that were passing down. Ensign Spear, with fifty-four men, left us this day for the surveying business.

5*th.* — Captain Smith, with his company, Ensign Sedam, with part of Mercer's company, Lieutenant Peters, Doctor Elliot and myself, left Fort Harmar to join the troops at the Rapids.

10*th.* — In the morning we joined our friends at the Falls.

11*th.*—Our commandant, with Major Hamtramck and

Mr. Pratt, the Quarter-master, &c., arrived in the barge. They bring accounts that Colonel Todd had returned from the Cherokee town on Paint creek, with three or four scalps and six or seven prisoners.

18*th.*—Water favorable. We began to send our boats and stores over the Rapids, for fear of low water. Subaltern's command at landing below the Rapids as guard. Troops wait for a supply of provisions. Some clashing between contractors. Turnbull and Marmie superseded by O'Hara and Duncan. When Bradshaw the agent is at a loss, commanding officer directs the purchase of provisions.

July 2*d.* — Strong's, Mercer's and Smith's companies cross the Ohio from their encampment opposite Louisville, march down and encamp at the landing below the Falls.

3*d.* — Finney's and Ziegler's companies crossed and encamped with the others. This evening Ferguson, with his company of artillery, from M'Intosh, and Daniel Britt, with a cargo of provisions on account of late contractors, arrived.

6*th.* — Captain Ziegler, with a command of a lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal and sixty-two privates, embarked with all the cattle and horses and a quantity of flour, on board eight Kentucky boats and two keel boats, with orders to proceed down to Pigeon creek, eight miles above Green river, and there wait for the arrival of the troops.

8*th.*—Troops embarked for Pigeon creek, one hundred and eighty miles below the Rapids.

10*th.*—Arrived in the evening at Pigeon creek, where

we found Captain Ziegler, who had arrived the evening before.

11*th.*—The cattle, horses and necessary baggage, with fifteen days flour, taken out of the boats, and the boats, with artillery, stores and heavy baggage, under command of Major Hamtramck, proceeded down the Ohio to mouth of Wabash, with orders to ascend that river and meet the troops as soon as possible at Vincennes. Troops took up the following order of march, (*see Plan*,) and proceeded by the most direct route for Vincennes, agreeably to the advice of a pilot. Columns regulated in their march by signals from the drum. Weather exceedingly warm and woods close. With heavy packs and not lately used to marching, the troops were hard put to. We encamped on a branch of Pigeon creek.

12*th.*—Marched at daylight. Woods not so thick. Crossed Pigeon creek twice, and encamped on its bank.

13*th.*—The troops march with more ease—pass through a level open country. Buffalo numerous in these woods. Several seen standing and gazing at the men, appearing to hearken to the drums. Encamped on the head waters of Pigeon creek.

14*th.*—Marched at the usual time. Fine open country until about twelve o'clock, intercepted by a thicket of plum and rose bushes, which our pilot said reached to a great distance on the right and left. Opened our way through. Some delay and disorder. Columns unable to keep their proper distances. Cattle scattered. Halted until the cattle were collected. Moved on and encamped on bank of Patoka.

ORDER OF MARCH.

July 11th 1787.

Corporal & 3

Sub. & 18 privates
Advance

MAIN COLUMNS

drum *drum* *drum* *drum*

Sub. & 18

Cattle

out flank

men right flank

& Horses

Rear Guard

A Serg.t & 12 Men

15*th.* — Heavy rain over night. Waited till twelve o'clock. Got on tolerably well considering our tents being very heavy with the rain. Encamped on high ground near a branch of Patoka.

16*th.* — Marched at daylight. Passed through a very fine rich open country, and arrived at White river about twelve: forded, breast high upon the men. Proceeded to the river De Shay, and encamped.

17*th.* — Took up the order of march, not until nine o'clock; moved on near to Vincennes. Met by some of the inhabitants. Halted and formed battalion, marched into the village with colors, &c., and encamped close to the American fort, Clark's block-house.

18*th.* — Moved our encampment about a quarter of a mile up the Wabash, for the sake of good water. Here we found a number of Cherokee Indians, who had fled to the French for refuge. The people on Cumberland, joined by the Chickasaws, had lately made an expedition to their towns and totally defeated them. The Cherokees were very shy of us, but being told by the French that we intended no hostilities, they rejoiced; were thankful and claimed protection.

21*st.* — The French inhabitants prepared and treated the officers to a very pretty entertainment.

25*th.* — This day Major Hamtramck, with the boats and baggage, arrived safe, excepting some few articles which could not be brought on, owing to the water being so shoal, and were left at the mouth of Wabash, guarded by Ensign Sedam and a small party of troops. This was a pleasant sight to us, as on leaving the boats we

ARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFO
SANTA BARBARA

had divested ourselves of everything not indispensably necessary. The six companies having now all assembled, they made a handsome parade. Men well clothed and well disciplined. The order and regularity observed gave the people of Vincennes a very favorable opinion of us. Our little camp, formed agreeably, in every respect, to the regulations, with the company of artillery divided on the right and left; tents new, &c., made no indifferent show. The inhabitants of Vincennes all French, except a few Americans, who found their way here since the war; but few speak English. Had on several occasions been visited by militia from Kentucky, who rather served to alienate and estrange them. They viewed us as belonging to another nation; called us the *real Americans.*

26*th.* — Lieutenant Armstrong and forty-five privates were detached with craft, to join Ensign Sedam, and assist in bringing up the whole of the stores from the mouth of the Wabash.

27*th.* — Several persons came in who had been with a party that were defeated coming up the Wabash. They informed us that the day before, just at the Grand Rapids, a party of Indians, about fifteen in number, attacked three perogues, killed three men and took four prisoners, two of whom were French, who were liberated immediately. Among the killed was a soldier of Captain Ziegler's company. One of those who made their escape, informed us that Daniel Britt, with whom we had left six soldiers at the Falls (to help him on, expecting he would overtake our fleet before it would get to the

Wabash), had passed the Wabash unknowingly, and was as low down as Cherokee river; that two of the soldiers had come up from the boat in a canoe, and being satisfied of the mistake, returned. Craft has been sent for Britt's cargo, and is supposed will proceed until they find him.

28*th.*—Two large canoes bearing white flags, appeared coming down the Wabash; they proved to be Piankeshaws, who inhabit the upper waters. Had been invited by Colonel Le Gras to come and see their friends the *true Americans.* Mr. Le Gras appears to be the chief magistrate here; sort of little governor among the French; is looked up to, and has great influence among the neighboring Indians. The Piankeshaws were timorous, having considered the Americans as their enemies. Indeed it was but last year that a formidable expedition went from Kentucky against their towns (but the principal officers, jealous of Clark, who had the command, excited a dissatisfaction among the corps, and when within a day or two's march of the Indians, broke up their camp and returned home). Some pains taken to conciliate and dispel their fear. They seemed to rejoice at their reception, expressed great satisfaction; said we were different Americans from any they had seen. They presented Colonel Harmar with an elegant calumet, and departed, intending to return and bring with them all the chiefs of the Wabash nation.

Aug. 4th.—A Mr. Vigo, a gentleman of Post Vincennes, gave the officers of our corps an entertainment. In the evening three Indian men came in, who had

been down the Wabash with Lieutenant Armstrong. They brought information that forty Piankeshaws were lying in wait, at the Grand Rapids, for Lieutenant Armstrong's fleet; in consequence of which information, Major Hamtramck, with a captain, one subaltern and fifty-eight men, set out in three keel boats to meet the fleet.

5*th*.—The whole of our boat stores arrived.

Vincennes, 9*th*. — Colonel Harmar had informed us of his intention to visit Kaskaskia and the settlements on the Mississippi, and had directed me to detail a subaltern and twenty-eight men to accompany him. I felt a desire to see the Mississippi, and offered myself for the command. This the first time I solicited any service; others might do it, but this soliciting service was a business I disapproved. Was living with the Colonel at the time. However, he chose that I should not go. Ensign M'Dowell was ordered in his turn for this pleasant tour. They set out early this morning, accompanied by a very accomplished Frenchman, a Mr. Tardiveau. Major Wyllys, the senior officer, left to command. A Mr. Mason, with a small party, left us this day for the Falls. By him sent several letters, under cover, to Mr. Kingsbury, at the head of the Rapids, addressed to my friends in Pennsylvania. One for P. F., Philadelphia; another for Mr. Lyon, Carlisle, and one for Doctor M'Dowell, at Muskingum, all respecting my rank, &c. I likewise sent per Mr. Bradford, a letter to my friend Parker, at Lexington.

20*th*. — A gentleman from Kaskaskia arrived, but did

not meet the Colonel's party. Must have been upon different traces. Tells of two hundred Shawanees and Delawares having left their villages on the Miami and settled across the Mississippi, under protection of the Spaniards. That more were expected, as the Spaniards had given them pressing invitations.

21*st.* — An express arrived from the Rapids, with dispatches for Colonel Harmar from the War Office. By this opportunity I received a letter from Mr. Kingsbury, telling me that he had forwarded my letter for P. F. and the one to Carlisle, per Mr. Abner Dunn, through the wildnerness.

Sept. 2*d.* — A runner from the Piankeshaws informed Major Wyllys that the chiefs of the tribes invited down had agreed to come, and that he might expect them daily.

3*d.* — The Colonel and his party returned from the Illinois.

5*th.* — One hundred of the Piankeshaws and Wyohtomas appeared in great style; all in canoes, but twelve horsemen who guarded the shore. The chiefs' canoes carried white flags. On their approach they gave us three fires. We were prepared for this, and had in readiness twenty men, who returned the salute with three rounds. They all came ashore — expressed much gladness at seeing us as friends. Taking a little milk for nourishment, they set out for town to see their French brothers, giving another fire as they went off.

7*th.* — Colonel Harmar made a speech to the Indians, the purport of which was, informing them of the peace-

able disposition of the United States; that he was directed by the principal chief to take by the hand every tribe of Indians desirous of peace, and authorized to destroy those otherwise inclined. He told them that everything should be done to make them glad; that the road should be kept clear and smooth between them and us, that traders might pass freely and with safety, &c. As a pledge of remembrance of the thirteen great fires (the thirteen United States), he presented each tribe with thirteen strings of white wampum.

8*th.* — Five of the Indian chiefs each made a reply to the Colonel's speech, expressing their gladness at being taken by the hand by their fathers the Bostonians. Professed great friendship; said that they had been misled, were now sensible of their error; hoped their fathers would let all the blood which has been spilt be washed down with the river, never to be seen or thought of more. That they would stand upon fresh ground, keep the road and the stumps between them and their fathers quite smooth; and as a proof and remembrance, each presented the Colonel with a calumet and a string of wampum.

10*th.* — The old chiefs attended, expecting, as was customary, some presents. The Colonel told them that we were warriors, that we did not come to purchase their friendship with trinkets, but barely to take them by the hand if they chose to give it; if they did not, it was a matter of indifference. But, however, since things had been so well settled, he told them his warriors had a few articles, which they would give to the old men only.

The sachems returned thanks. Pleased to take what they could get. The greatest beggars I have seen yet among all the savages.

11*th.*—Two men out of fifteen who had set out on the 9th for the Rapids, returned, having been fired on near the forks of White river, by a party of Indians. From their report it is likely the greater number of their company fell a sacrifice. This story circulating through the town had like to have frightened off all the Indians who had been invited.

13*th.*—The Indians took their departure.

15*th.*—Lieutenant Armstrong, with a party of soldiers and militia, set out to meet a drove of cattle which Mr. Bradshaw, with some hands, was bringing on. Fortunately the two parties met about seven miles off, and came in the same evening. This day Captain Mercer and Mr. Britt arrived from Kaskaskia.

Vincennes, or Post Vincennes, as it is called, is said to be the most capital village in the western country. There are about five hundred souls, French, and about half as many Americans. It is handsomely situated on the left bank of the Wabash, out of danger of the floods. The village is built in the centre of a large prairie, the greater part of which is at present cultivated, but under no inclosure. A sufficiency only is inclosed for their cattle, and is in common. Their houses are chiefly frame work, and many of them covered with bark Five or six families live on the opposite side and have little farms. The land is excellent and the country generally fine for growing. It was first settled by a Monsieur Vincennes,

near seventy years ago, from whom it takes its name It is allowed to be one hundred and seventy miles from Post Vincennes to Kaskaskia. The prairies between these two places are remarkable. One, in particular, I am told, is thirty miles in width, and near one hundred miles in length. They run north and south. They are grown up with long grass, free from brush and underwood; here and there a small copse of handsome young trees. The country abounds in buffalo, deer, elk and bear.

Kaskaskia, though more ancient than the Post, is not so extensive a village. Opposite is a settlement called Misére, where a lieutenant and five or six regular soldiers are stationed. About sixty miles above Kaskaskia is Cahokia, and opposite it, on the Spanish side, is St. Louis, where the commandant (a lieutenant-colonel) resides, with about twenty soldiers. Between Kaskaskia and Cahokia there are several small villages, some of them inhabited by Americans only, who have emigrated to that country chiefly since the late war.

Post Vincennes, 30*th*. — Orders issued for Ziegler's and Strong's companies to march next day, with the commandant, for the Rapids of the Ohio. Finney's and Mercer's companies to embark on the 3d October, under command of Major Wyllys, for the same place. Major Hamtramck, with Ferguson's and Smith's companies, to continue at the Post.

Oct. 1*st*. — Set out with the commandant and the two companies; marched to a branch of the river De Shay, supposed to be nine miles.

2*d.*—Crossed the west fork of White river and encamped on a branch,	20
3*d.*—Crossed and encamped on north fork of White river,	24
4*th.*—Reached the Great Lick,	18
5*th.*—Branch of Patoka,	16
6*th.*—Branch of Blue river,	25
7*th.*—Rapids,	18
	130

In this route we pursued General Clark's trace, made a twelvemonth ago, on his way against the Wabash Indians. First and second day passed through tolerable land; third day very indifferent, owing to the path keeping about three and four miles distant, for thirty miles up the north fork of White river, which led us through neither rich nor level land, but just across the heads of gullies leading into White river. Fourth day's march, passed over a great deal of good land, particularly near the Great Lick, which is not far distant from the road. When within a few miles of the Lick, our hunters had leave to go ahead. Presently heard the report of both their guns, and in a few minutes five buffaloes made their appearance, bearing furiously toward the head of the column. When within fifty paces, the men in front were permitted to fire; this turned the heads of the animals; they passed along and received the fire of the whole line. Three only were shot down, near the rear, where they approached within twenty paces. Fifth day's march, through pretty good land. Sixth, barren. Sev-

enth, broken with knobs and small mountains, until we got within seven or eight miles of the Rapids, when the land became level and of the first quality.

9th. — Mr. Wells set out for Fort Pitt, with two light boats, by whom I sent several letters; one to Esquire Lyon, and inclosed a duplicate of a letter sent from the Post to G. F., and likewise two small letters inclosed to my friends in Carlisle.

21st. — Major Wyllys, with our fleet, consisting of eleven boats, arrived at the foot of the Rapids.

22d. — Baggage brought round the Falls in wagons. The troops marched up to the fort and took quarters with us.

23d and 24th. — The men employed in dragging the boats up through the Falls.

Fort Finney, *Rapids of Ohio*, *28th.*—Colonel Harmar received brevet commission, with pay and emoluments of Brigadier-General. He sets out for Fort Harmar. Quarter-master Pratt and myself accompany in a barge, with sergeant and fourteen men. Orders left for Captains Ziegler and Strong with their companies to follow on to-morrow. Major Wyllys, with Finney's and Mercer's companies, to continue at Fort Finney at the head of the Rapids. Got to the eighteen mile Island.

29th, to Kentucky river.

30th, Big Bone creek.

31st, Great Miami.

Nov. *1st*, to the Little Miami.

2d, about half way between Little Miami and Limestone.

3*d*, to Limestone.

4*th*, lay still.

5*th*, twenty-two miles up.

6*th*, just below Scioto.

7*th*, thirty miles up.

8*th*, just below Guyandot.

9*th*, within eighteen miles of the Great Kanahwa.

10*th*, six miles above the Great Kanahwa.

11*th*, got five miles above the Little Falls.

12*th*, to the Scioto settlement.

13*th*, arrived at Muskingum, Fort Harmar, after a passage of sixteen days—one other day we spent at Limestone.

20*th*. — Lieutenant Beatty arrived from New York, with some pay for the regiment.

21*st*. — Ziegler's and Strong's companies arrive and take quarters for the winter. Doughty's company we had left here. M'Curdy's, which had been employed through the summer escorting the United States surveyors, was here also.

24*th*. — Alexander Parker and Mr. Dunn arrived on their way to Kentucky, by whom I received several letters from my friends at Carlisle and a box of linen. Parker and Dunn left us the same day, not wishing to lose good weather and high water.

Dec. 6*th*.—Captain Ashton, who had come to this place with Parker and Dunn, set out for the Falls.

10*th*.—Lieutenant Beatty set out again for New York for more cash.

12*th*.—Mr. Jacob Melcher, a candidate for the vacant

ensigncy in the Pennsylvania quota arrived; with whom came John Siddon, a man enlisted for one year to serve as a ranger, and who had been taken prisoner on the Wabash the 26th July last. At the time he was taken, he received a slight wound on the hip. The Indians carried him to their farthermost town on the Wabash and adopted him in a family, where he continued to live peaceably. When an opportunity offered for his escape, he left them and passed through several Delaware towns without any interruption, and arrived safe at Pittsburgh.

25*th.*—The river Ohio bound fast with ice.

Jan. 1*st*, 1788.—The weather continues exceedingly cold.

5*th.*—The thermometer sixteen degrees below zero. Horses, &c., crossed the river on the ice.

20*th.*—The river broke up—much ice floating.

Feb. 4*th.*—The weather intensely cold; the mercury down to fourteen degrees below zero. A messenger arrived from Captain Pipe, with a friendly talk, requesting that the roads might be kept smooth and clear for the Delawares to pass and repass.

24*th.*—The navigation had been shut or interrupted by ice since 20th December last. To-day we had the first arrival. Colonel Blaine, his son James, and Mr. C. Wilkins, all old acquaintances of the officers, came just from Fort Pitt. Very glad to see them. Mr. Wilkins continues here, with a store of goods suitable for the troops.

March 7*th.*—Colonel Blain and his son left us and set out with Mr. Spear, who was ordered to the Rapids to bring up the commissioners' goods, to be in readiness for the intended grand treaty.

8*th.*—Captain Pipe and his tribe came in.

9*th.*—Although the time, for which the men now in service were enlisted, does not expire until midsummer, yet, to provide recruits and to have them out in season, it was thought advisable that a few officers should go to their respective States for that purpose. Accordingly Captains Ziegler and Bradford (the latter in place of Doughty, promoted,) and Lieutenant Pratt, the Quartermaster, all volunteering this service, set out.

17*th.*—Mr. Schuyler pursued the recruiting officer with some dispatches which had been forgotten.

April 6*th.*—Left Fort Harmar, in company with the General and Daniel Britt, the contractor, on board a barge with twelve oars.

7*th.*—Rained all day. Got to the fourth island on the reach.

8*th.*—Fine day, with wind. Lay just below Fish creek.

9*th.*—The river still continues to rise. Had the water remarkably hard. Got to Grave creek.

10*th.*—The water began to lower. Arrived at Wheeling about eleven o'clock, when Mr. Britt took horse to go by land to Pitt.

11*th.*—The river falling fast. Got to Edgington's.

12*th.*—A fine wind. Lay half mile above Beckar's Fort.

13*th.*—Got to M'Intosh early in the evening, where we tarried all night.

14*th.*—With extreme hard work we got to Fort Pitt.

15*th.*—A rainy morning; the water began to rise.

16*th.*—A fine day. 17th, the same. 18th, cold rain.

19*th.* —Blustering rainy weather.

20*th.* — A considerable quantity of snow fell. The rivers up to a considerable height; the weather exceedingly cold.

21*st.*—The weather moderate and the water falls.

22*d.*—Some rain, and windy. 23d, fine day. Water falls slowly.

24*th.*—Rained in the morning. Cloudy.

25*th.*—Wet and disagreeable day. 26th, rain all day.

Sunday, 27*th.*—It was the General's intention to spend a day or two here, and proceed up the Allegheny river to Fort Franklin (formerly Venango), but a continuation of heavy rains and consequent high water, induced him to delay for a more favorable time; but unwilling to be absent too long, we set out with high water, and rising. This day we passed seven islands, and gained fifteen miles.

28*th.* — Had severe thunder, with rain. Passed eight islands and several lodges of Indians near Kiskiminitis. Lay five miles above the mouth of that river.

29*th.* — Clear and cold. River still rising. Passed seven islands, and encamped a mile above Mahoning.

30*th.*—Last night the contractor's boat, from Venango, passed down on its way back to Pitt; had a passage of fifteen days up. Very hard water to-day. Passed two islands; gained twenty miles.

May 1*st.*—Current this day very rapid. Passed Stump creek and six islands; made about twenty miles.

2*d.*—Passed a creek on the east side about nine o'clock. Eleven o'clock passed another, and about half after three

another of considerable size, on the west side, supposed to be Sandy. Five islands this day, and rain from morning till night.

3*d*. — About eight o'clock this morning, after passing one island, we entered the mouth of French creek. The fort stands half a mile up. Several miles below we were discovered by some Indians, who cut across and gave notice to Captain Heart of our approach. The arrival of General Harmar was announced with seven rounds of a six-pounder from the fort. Very kindly received by the Captain and Lieutenant Frothingham, at the head of their command. The company reviewed and dismissed. Spent the day in examining Captain Heart's work, viewing the adjacent country and the old fortifications of the French and British. There is a fine flat of good land here, altogether on the lower side of French creek, sufficient for several farms. The only flat land from Mahoning or Mohelboteetam, up. The hills come in close on the opposite sides, both of French creek and the Allegheny river, and I am informed that the country for at least five miles in all directions, is very much broken with hills and rocks. Captain Heart's Fort, or Fort Franklin, as it is called, is built precisely after the one which had been erected by the British, called Venango. It is a square redoubt, with a block-house three stories high, in the centre; stands better than half a mile up French creek, upon very good ground; but the situation, in my opinion, by no means so eligible as that of old Venango built by the English. This last work stood upon commanding ground pretty close to the bank

of the Allegheny, half a mile below French creek, and a mile from Fort Franklin. The cellar wall and huge stack of chimneys of the block-house, are of stone, and yet quite entire. The parapet and some other parts remain perfect, and the whole work might have been rebuilt with half the labor and expense of that built by Heart. The only reason the captain could offer for taking new ground, was the convenience of timber. The French, who made the first establishment here, chose the ground several hundred yards below where the British built. They had a small stockade fort; some remains of it are yet to be seen. But around the British work there is everything to be seen which was not consumed by the fire — ditches and parapets, stone walls, &c. Several handsomely disposed gardens, walks, &c., very visible, and a few fruit trees remaining still; some garden roots, &c., particularly the parsnip, in considerable abundance.

We see a number of the Senecas here. The Senecas, who inhabit the banks of the Allegheny, some three or four day's journey above this, are frequently here. They bring their peltry and exchange it with the traders for such articles as suit them. We saw several families of them; all appeared indolent, dirty, inanimate creatures; most so of any Indians I had seen.

4*th.* — Left Fort Franklin at five o'clock. Allegheny river flowing brim full; current not less perhaps than six miles an hour. We worked twelve oars steadily. Had two extra hands that afforded some relief; and except about an hour, which was taken up in whole in

eating, and a little time spent on an island, we lost no time. Arrived and landed at the fort on the Monongahela side precisely at eight o'clock—fifteen hours passage. After leaving the mouth of French creek, there appeared little else than hills and rocks and rugged looking ridges until as low as Mahoning, or what was originally called Mohelboteetam; from thence the bottoms increased on one side or the other until we reached Pitt. Some very beautiful situations and tracts of land, indeed; old Kittanning a delightful one.

7th.—Accompanied General Harmar on horseback on a visit to his lands in Westmoreland county. Made nearly the same tour I had done last winter was a year. Returned to Pitt on Sunday, the 11th.

13th.—Visited my uncle John M'Clure's family, nine miles above Pitt, on the Monongahela; spent a very pleasant day. Two or three gentle acquaintances were along; they were formerly from Carlisle. A very respectable portion of the society of Pittsburgh are from that place, and this circumstance, no doubt, tends to attract and to create the social intercourse and very great harmony which prevails among them.

15th.—A Mr. White, member of Congress, and some gentlemen of Pittsburgh, accompanied the General in the barge, on a visit up the Monongahela to Braddock's Field. We viewed the battle ground. Saw several small heaps of bones which had been collected, with a little brushwood thrown over them. The bones of the poor soldiers are still lying scattered through the woods,

but the ground where the heaviest of the action was is now under cultivation.

17*th.* — Lieutenant Beatty, our pay-master, arrived from New York with cash for the troops.

20*th.* — He set out for Venango by land, escorted by five soldiers. After paying that post, he will return to Pitt to proceed with us in the barge to Fort Harmar.

23*d.*—General Arthur St. Clair, lately appointed Governor of the Western Territory, arrived at Pitt. He has been expected for some time. Had dispatched messengers to the Indian towns to invite them to another treaty. Accompanied by the Governor we took another road to Braddock's Field, and visited the remains of poor Braddock's soldiers. On our return I saw my uncle's family.

27*th.* — The messengers returned from the Indian towns, inform us that no assemblage of them can be had for two or three months. The Governor returns to Ligonier, where his family reside.

28*th.* — General Harmar, Mr. White and myself embarked for Fort Harmar, at which place we arrived about twelve o'clock on the night of the 29th. Here we found Spear and Melcher, two subalterns of the regiment, and Mr. Ephraim Blaine. They had landed a few hours before us. Spear and Melcher, on their way from Vincennes, below the Falls, were fired upon by a party of savages in ambush on the bank, close up which the others were rowing. Two men only were killed. It is a matter of astonishment, that when the Indians do attack our boats in this dastardly way, from the very great ad-

vantage they have, that the men in the boats are not all destroyed. There have been too many instances this spring of our people being fired on, but the loss inconsiderable to what it might have been. Preparations are making for another grand treaty. Government have directed it. Our commandant thinks it all idle business. One-half will come in, sign articles and receive presents, while the others are killing, scalping and doing us every possible damage they can.

An association of persons in the New England States, having made a purchase from the United States of a tract of country extending along the Ohio about one hundred and fifty miles, and back perhaps thirty, had formed themselves into a company known by the name of the Ohio Company. A number of the proprietors and directors elected had come on and fixed upon the ground at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, as a central situation from which they could extend their operations, and at the same time be protected by the garrison of Fort Harmar, which was situate on the other side of the Muskingum. These men from New England, many of whom were of the first respectability, old Revolutionary officers, had erected and were now living in huts immediately opposite us. A considerable number of industrious farmers had purchased shares in the company, and more or less arrive every week. A spacious city is laid out here, called Marietta, in honor of the Queen of France. About half a mile up the Muskingum, upon very commanding ground, the site of a very ancient and very extraordinary fortification, was erected a place of

arms and security,. called Campus Martius. Building put up of hewn timber, two stories high, forming an oblong square, with strong block-houses in each angle, leaving a considerable area; here their stores, &c., were lodged, and some families perhaps more timid than others, reside, but generally both men and women appear enterprising. Generals Parsons and Varum, two of the company's directors, were also territorial judges. Mr. Symmes, the other judge, was the principal agent in the purchase of another tract of country, including the Miamis.

8*th.*—Jane Beatty arrived from Fort Pitt.

9*th.*—Armstrong embarked for Fort Pitt.

13*th.*—Ensign M'Dowell, with a party of soldiers, set out to escort Mr. Duncan, the provisions and stores intended for a treaty, to the Falls of Muskingum.

June 15*th.*—Major Doughty embarked in the barge for Fort Pitt. His design is to accompany Governor St. Clair to this post.

July 4*th.*—The officers of Fort Harmar were entertained on the point (Marietta side) by the Ohio Company. Heard a very suitable oration delivered by Judge Varum.

8*th.*—Captain Bradford and Lieutenant Ernest arrived from New York, where they had been sent to recruit. Their Legislature not having taken up the requisition of Congress for raising the regiment, these gentlemen were obliged to return without effecting their object.

9*th.*—The arrival of the Governor of the Western Ter-

ritory (General St. Clair) was announced by the discharge of thirteen rounds from a six-pounder. The garrison turned out, and troops received him with presented arms.

13*th.* — About a month since, Ensign M'Dowell, with a command of thirty men, escorted boats with provisions, &c., to the Falls of Muskingum, about seventy-five miles up, where the intended treaty was to be held. We are informed by express that his party were attacked in their camp yesterday by a party of Tawas; that his picket guard was routed; two soldiers only were killed and one missing. A black servant of Mr. Duncan was killed. The Indians were repulsed with the loss of one killed and left behind.

14*th.* — This evening a party with a craft was sent up the Muskingum to bring off Ensign M'Dowell, command, &c. The treaty, if any, determined to be held at Fort Harmar.

15*th.* — Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, and one of the directors of the Ohio Company, had reached this with the ordinance of Congress respecting the government, and with the commissions for the several officers. The people convened on the point; military officers invited over. When assembled, the Secretary read the law and the appointments. Those people appear the most happy folks in the world; greatly satisfied with their new purchase. But they certainly are the best informed, most courteous and civil to strangers of any people I have yet met with. The order and regularity observed by all, their sober deportment and perfect

submission to the constituted authorities, &c., must tend much to promote their settlements.

16*th.* — Lieutenant Ford, who had been stationed at Fort M'Intosh, arrived with his party. He is to proceed to Post Vincennes to join his company.

17*th.* — Lieutenant Beatty embarked with part of Ford's command for the Rapids.

20*th.*—Ensign M'Dowell returned. By his address before he left his camp, had managed to get hold of six of the fellows who had made the attack upon him. They were brought down bound, and confined under the garrison guard. They called themselves Tawas and Chippewas.

28*th.*—Two of our Indian prisoners made their escape from the guard. Four of the soldiers had been conducting them, as was usual, to the necessary which stands outside the fort. Those within are used only after night. A corn patch adjoining the necessary. The Indians had previously found that the irons on their hands and feet could be slipped off; when close to the corn, and at a moment when the attention of the guard was taken off, they slipped their shackles, leaped into the corn field, which sheltered them from the view of the sentries, and were soon out of reach.

Aug. 7*th.* — Ensign Thompson sent express to Fort Pitt with orders for Captain Ziegler, who we hear has arrived there with his company.

8*th.* — Lieutenant Ford set out for the Rapids of the Ohio; from thence he is to proceed with the pay-master to Post Vincennes.

17*th.*—Captain Heart arrived from Venango, and Cap-

tain Strong set off for Connecticut, by whom I wrote to my friend J. C.

27*th.* — Judge Symmes, with several boats and families, arrived on their way to his new purchase at the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with the General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not greatly mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman. An amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind, about to be buried in the wilderness.

31*st.* — Captain Smith arrived from New York on his way to the Post to join his company. With him came Ensign Thompson, Mr. Melcher and Mr. Brown, a member of Congress from Kentucky.

Sept. 1*st.*—Mr. Brown proceeded down the river.

2*d.* — Captain Heart and Major Doughty set out for Venango. The latter to muster the troops at that post.

9*th.* — General Richard Butler, commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania, and Captain James O'Hara, the contractor, with Cornplanter and about fifty Senecas, arrive. They were escorted from Pitt by Captain Ziegler's company of recruits. They were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and the music. Ziegler is a German, had been in Saxon service previous to our late war with England. Takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment; and to do him justice, his company has been always considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four-fifths of his company have been Germans. Majority of the present are men who served in Germany.

Fort Harmar, 11*th.* — Mitchell arrived express from

the Falls, by whom we learn that Lieutenant Peters with a command of thirty men, had been defeated near the mouth of the Wabash. Eight of his men were killed and ten wounded. That one boat loaded with provisions fell into the hands of the enemy. That Mr. Peters retreated down the Ohio, and was making for Kaskaskia. By the same express are told that Captain Hardin, from Kentucky, had conducted thirty active woodsmen (militia) into the Indian country about the mouth of the Wabash, and it was supposed had fallen in with the Indians who defeated Peters; that he had returned to the Falls with thirty horses taken and ten scalps. Messengers arrive from the Indian towns. Say the nations in grand council had agreed to attend the treaty. Saw the young men return daily with scalps.

12*th*.—A singular occurrence took place to-day in sight of the fort, between two of the Seneca Indians. Both among the best looking men, and duly sober, met, drew their knives and fought until both sank under their wounds. It seems that they had formerly lived together as brothers. One of them, a married man, was obliged to go on a mission to some distant nations, and unable to take along his wife, left her in charge of his friend, who was to provide for and protect her. When the husband returned he found that his poor frail wife had been left in care of a savage. She was seduced and carried out of the nation. He bore this with manly fortitude, but resolved if they ever met, one of them must die. It seems that they had a knowledge of each other coming here, and were prepared for the meeting and for what

took place. The fellow who had eloped with the woman came last from the Shawanee towns, where it is said he lately killed a girl for refusing to comply with his wishes.

14*th.* — A messenger arrived from the Indian towns with speeches, &c. They report that all the nations will attend the grand treaty as soon as possible for them to arrive. That they had been counciling at the Miami town, where they had agreed on the above; at the same time scalps were daily brought in by the young men.

15*th.* — Mr. Ernest and Mr. Wilkins set out for Fort Pitt, the former with orders to relieve Lieutenant Schuyler, who is stationed there. By the latter I sent a letter to my sister Nancy, and inclosed a bank note of twenty dollars.

21*st.* — Lieutenant Armstrong arrived on his way to the Falls.

22*d.* — Lieutenant Kersey, with forty-eight Jersey recruits, and Ensign Hartshorn, with twenty-nine from Connecticut, arrived.

29*th.* — Major Doughty arrived from Venango, where he had been sent to muster Captain Heart's command. With him came Major Alexander and several other gentlemen.

Oct. 4*th.* — Captain M'Curdy, with Ensign Hartshorn and cadet Morgan, and about forty men, were detached to escort the geographer to the Scioto river.

13*th.*—Doctor Knight joined the regiment in character of a substitute for Doctor Sumner, who had occasion to remain at home longer than his furlough specified.

One of the two savages mentioned on the 12th Sep-

tember as having fought respecting a woman, is found drowned in the Muskingum. It is said the tribe generally wished for his exit, and that some of them must have been the instruments of his death. Every possible attention was paid by the Senecas, as well as by the surgeon of the garrison, to the husband. His life was despaired of. The other totally neglected, an outcast, left to shift for himself, to dress himself; a small portion of victuals sent daily from the fort, and left in his reach where he lay near the bank. Notwithstanding, and contrary to the expectation and wishes, was recovering and able to crawl about, when now, a month after the fight, and all hopes of his death having ceased, he is found drowned in the Muskingum. Some one or two of his nation had in the night dragged him down the bank and put him in the river. From the appearance of the ground being torn up where he lay and along to the water's edge, he must have made considerable resistance.

19*th.*—General Gibson, a commissioner on the part of the State of Pennsylvania, arrived from Fort Pitt. He and General Butler are appointed by the State to treat with the Indians, particularly the Senecas, and to make them compensation for a tract of country lying on Lake Erie, and including Presqu' Isle, which the State has purchased of Congress.

20*th.*—Notwithstanding the treaty was solicited by the savages, it is doubtful whether the chiefs will come in or not. A late message from them says, that they have been informed by good authority, that we have poisoned the whiskey which we intend for them; and infection for

the small pox has been put in the blankets to be presented them. This message, with the daily accounts of mischief doing in some quarter or other, seem to indicate as if they had no mind to treat. Three canoes arrived last night from Limestone, brought accounts that Lieutenant Armstrong's boat was fired on near the Scioto; that one of his men was shot through the cheek. The Indians have lately killed a soldier in the vicinity of the fort at the Rapids, and not content with scalping him, cut him in four quarters and hung them up on the bushes.

28*th.* — G. W., a trusty Indian messenger who had been sent to the towns, arrived with an account that the chiefs were preparing to attend the treaty, and might be expected in twelve or fifteen days.

Nov. 1*st.* — Captain M'Curdy, with his command, and the geographer, arrived.

7*th.*—Messengers Wilson and Rankin return from the Indian towns. With them came Captain Davie, of the Six Nations, and several others. These last are from Grand river, on the British side of Lake Erie. Brant is expected in a few days.

Dec. 13*th.* — About two hundred Indians arrive—consist of Delawares, Wyandots, Senecas, Tawas, Pottowattamies, Chippewas and Socks. No Shawanees.

14*th.*—Meeting in council house to welcome each other, &c.

15*th.*—Met in council. Treaty opened. This evening Captains Ferguson and Beatty set out, and Ensign M'Dowell arrived, who had been escorting Mr. Marten surveying up the Scioto.

20*th.*—The weather extremely cold. The river driving with ice. The Governor and Indians have had frequent meetings in the council house, but nothing conclusive yet.

29*th.*—A grand council was held. The old Wyandot chief, Shandotto, addressed the Governor in behalf of all the nations present. He began by telling their origin and how the thirteen fires had gotten possession of their country; how we had in two instances cheated them. The first, he said, was in a bargain made with them for just as much ground as an ox's hide would cover, merely to build one fire upon. The Americans cut the hide into strings and claimed all the ground they could encompass therewith. The second case was a bargain for such an extent of country, in a certain direction, as a white man would travel to and back in one day. A surprising walker was found, who went as far and back again the same day as any of their swiftest men could do in two. These, said he, were submitted to, as you were strangers in our country, and professed to be our friends, but you have gone on from one step to another, so that we don't know when you will stop. At a treaty concluded to the northward, before the late war, he said, they had given up all the country south of the Ohio river. That boundary was a very plain one. It was such as could not be altered or mistaken; there could be no dispute about it. Concluded by saying that all the nations present had determined to grant no more of the country, but were willing to abide by the treaty which established the river Ohio as the boundary line. He presented a large belt of wampum with a black stripe running through the

middle of it, representing the Ohio river dividing, &c. The Governor replied, and told them that he could not possibly make the least deviation from the treaties which had been concluded at Fort Stanwix, at Fort M'Intosh and at the Miami river. That at these treaties the several boundaries had been fixed, and were unalterable. Council adjourned. Several days pass over. Indians pow-wowing. The Ohio rising and driving with ice.

Jan. 6th, 1789.—All hands assemble again. The Governor made a speech to the Indians. Explained to them by a simile how they had forfeited their country. He supposed the Wyandots and some distant nation at war with each other. The Shawanees living between, were desired by the Wyandots to lie still, which was agreed to, but the Shawanees being of a restless disposition, and easy persuaded, took up the hatchet against their neighbors the Wyandots; notwithstanding, the Wyandots conquered their enemies, and obliged them to sue for peace, and the Shawanees' lands were given as a price for the same. Now, whether had not the Wyandots a good claim to the lands? They all agreed it was but just; then, said he, this is exactly your case, you took up the hatchet against the United States, and joined the English in the late war. The English, to obtain peace, ceded to the United States all the country south of the great lakes. He told them that they had been all summer endeavoring to meet, but it seemed to be to no purpose. The United States, he said, were much inclined to be at peace with all the Indians, but if the Indians wanted war they should have war. He told them that if they

would renew the articles which had been agreed to and signed at M'Intosh and at the other treaties, he would add another article, and allow them the privilege of hunting any where in the United States' territory, and would deliver over to them a certain quantity of goods, such as might be agreed on. Adjourned.

8*th.* — Lieutenant Pratt joined us, from Connecticut, with about seventy recruits.

9*th.* —In council once more. The old Wyandot chief, Shandotto, who spoke for all the nations present, said he was sorry the Governor talked of war. It was not long since both had felt the effects of it. For their part, they wished for no more. He said they all had a great regard for the thirteen fires, and would do everything in their power to accommodate them for the sake of peace, only hoped the line would be removed a little way.

11*th.*—This was the last act of the farce. The articles were signed.

13*th.* — The goods were given out to the different nations of Indians. The death of General Vernum, one of the judges of the territory, who was buried this afternoon, is generally lamented. The officers of the fort attended his funeral.

22*d.*—The Indians mostly dispersed. Mr. Thompson, Luce and Schuyler, embarked for the Rapids.

28*th.* — The Governor, Pennsylvania commissioners, and sundry other gentlemen attending the grand treaty, left us for Fort Pitt.

Feb. 15*th.* — Captain Bradford, with his company, embarked for the Rapids. Dr. Carmichael proceeded with

him as far as the Great Miami, there to join Lieutenant Kersey.

22*d.*—Married this evening, Captain David Ziegler, of the first regiment, to Miss Sheffield, only single daughter of Mrs. Sheffield, of Campus Martius, city of Marietta. On this occasion I played the captain's aid, and at his request, the memorandums made. I exhibited a character not more awkward than strange, at the celebration of Captain Ziegler's nuptials, the first of the kind I had been a witness to.

March 18*th.*— Lieutenant Kingsbury was sent to conduct a number of M'Curdy's discharged men to Fort Pitt.

April 19*th.*—Ensign Hartshorn detached with a party for Wheeling, where he expected to meet Mr. Ludlow, with whom he was to proceed to run the northern boundary of the Ohio Company purchase.

May 1*st.*— The Indians attack and kill a Mr. King, a proprietor in the Ohio Company, just below the Little Kanahwa, where a settlement is forming. The directors apply to General Harmar for a few soldiers for the protection of the place. A sergeant, corporal and fifteen men, detached to protect the settlement below, called Belpre, and a corporal and eight sent up the Muskingum to Wolf creek, where the people are making another settlement.

5*th.*—The commission of first Lieutenant, which ought to have been sent me last year, was received but to-day. It is dated 28th of March last; the detention occasioned by a claim of Mr. Spear for the same appointment.

Spear had filled a vacant ensigncy twelve months after our appointments, but having been an older subaltern in the Revolutionary war, thought he was still entitled to the right. Our State, where the appointments originate, decided against him. This evening Lieutenant Ford, with Captain Mercer's company, arrived from Vincennes. Captain Mercer and Lieutenant Peters came also, on their way home

28*th.* — Two parties of a corporal and nine men each were detached to escort the surveyors of the Ohio Company in running out certain ranges upon the river, and to the extension of the purchase westward. They took two men and provisions.

June 4*th.* — Lieutenant Kingsbury, Mr. Tupper and myself set out in a small boat with four men, to visit the settlements made by the New England people on donation lands, called Belpre settlement. We got down about one o'clock — found everything appeared as well as industry could make.

5*th.* — We embarked and returned up within seven miles of the garrison. Landed and struck off on a west line, and at the distance of one mile, got upon Mr. Kingsbury's one hundred and sixty acre lot, and mine, which adjoins his. We found mine to be tolerably good land, having a branch of the Little Hockhocking running directly through it. A great deal of poplar, walnut, locust, cherry, shellbark hickory and black oak. Returned to the boat and got home about dark.

9*th.* — Ensign Hartshorn and his party returned from escorting Mr. Ludlow, the surveyor, who was running

the northern boundary of the Ohio Company purchase. They completed the business without the least molestation.

9*th.*— Major Wyllys, Ensign Sedam and Dr. Allison, arrived from the Rapids on their way to New York.

28*th.*— A young Delaware came in with information that George Washington was wounded by some person in ambush, on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. They are willing to lay it to Brant's people, but at the same time think the mischief done by militia from Wheeling.

July 7*th.*—Major Doughty joined us from New York.

14*th.*— Captain M'Curdy and Ensign M'Dowell came with forty-four recruits—good looking fellows.

Aug. 9*th.*— Captain Strong, with his two subalterns, Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn, and a complete company of seventy men, embark for the Miami.

11*th.*— Captain Ferguson joined us with his recruits. Major Doughty follows Captain Strong for the purpose of choosing ground and laying out a new work intended for the protection of persons who have settled within the limits of Judge Symme's purchase.

21*st.*— A corporal and six men escorting surveyors of the Ohio Company, attacked by the Indians. The corporal only escaped.

Sept. 4*th.*—Ferguson with his company ordered to join Strong in erecting a fort near the Miami. Lieutenant Pratt, the quarter-master, ordered to the same place.

14*th.*— At a meeting of the agents of the Ohio Land Company, a tract of land lying at or near the mouth of

Tyger's or Kyger's creek, on the Ohio, about four or five miles above the Great Kanahwa, was granted to an association of thirty-five proprietors, formed for settling the same; each to have one hundred acres at least. The 1st September, 1790, is the time allowed for commencing the settlement. Captain Beatty and myself are of the association.

22*d.* — Captain Heart, with his company from Fort Franklin, arrive here.

Nov. 10*th.* — The General intends removing to headquarters very shortly, to the new fort building by Major Doughty, opposite the mouth of Licking creek. Had hinted that a short furlough would be very desirable before I went lower down, and if I could be excused from the regiment, would proceed to Philadelphia, and complete some business of his and of the officers of the Pennsylvania quota. I had, in the absence of quartermaster, performed both duties of adjutant and quartermaster. Mr. Pratt I always found ready and willing. On this occasion he volunteered, and I obtained a furlough until 1st May. Embarked in a twelve oar boat with Doctor Scott.

11*th.*—Lay near the upper end of the Long Reach.

12*th.* — Met a rise of water, and got one mile above Sunfish.

13*th.* —Rainy weather. Lay all night at Mr. Mahan's, seven miles below Wheeling.

14*th.* — Deposited with Esquire Zeens sundry articles found with Rogers (drowned), to be sent to his wife at Marietta. Got to Carpenter's at Short creek.

15*th.* — High water. Lay one mile above Holliday's Cove.

16*th.* — The river continued to rise. With hard work we made Dawson's, opposite the mouth of Little Beaver, about eight o'clock at night.

17*th.* — As we turned up Beaver creek, to go to the block-house two miles up, where an officer and party is stationed, we met General Parson's canoe, with some property, floating down. Found the old gentleman, in attempting to pass the Falls, about five miles up, was cast out and drowned, with one man who accompanied him. Judge Parsons was esteemed a useful, enterprising citizen. He had an interest in Salt Spring tract, on the Mahoning, and anxious to prove the navigation of the Falls practicable, the experiment cost him his life. It is said that his life was insured in New York.

18*th.* — Set out after breakfast and got as high as the lower end of Montour's Island.

19*th.*—Arrived at Pittsburgh about two o'clock, P. M., when to our great satisfaction we found Major Wyllys, Captain Mercer, Captain Beatty, Lieutenant Peters, Ensign Sedam and Doctor Allison, all on their way to join the regiment.

PITTSBURGH, *Dec.* 4*th.*—With Beatty, the pay-master, I had business which detained me here longer than was intended. My boat and crew were taken back by these officers. Got upon the road this afternoon.

12*th.*—Reached Carlisle.

Jan. 9*th*, 1790. — Left Carlisle in company with Mr.

Nesbit. That evening reached the Susquehanna on my way to Philadelphia.

13*th.*—Arrived in the city after a cold and tedious ride.

26*th.*—Having settled all my business fully, took leave of the pleasing amusements of the city and got back to my friends at Carlisle on the 29th. Had been here but a few days, when a strange indisposition came on me, altogether unaccountable. Few persons have been favored with better health than I have enjoyed all my life; once only, in South Carolina was I laid up for a while. Temperance and an active life may have contributed to exempt when few escaped, but never was without a grateful sense of the favor of Divine Providence. In the present case endeavored for several days to keep up, when it was discovered that I had taken the measles, a disease very prevalent here at this time, and which it was supposed I had had. This sickness could not have taken me at a more convenient or happy time — was in the house with my mother and sisters. In the space of a couple of weeks was again about, and as soon as it was prudent to be exposed to the roads and weather, left my kind and affectionate relations, and arrived at Pittsburgh on the 22d. March.

April 11*th.* — No place appears to me more inviting than this; could willingly remain here awhile, but my furlough draws to a close, nor would I go over it one day, for a week of pleasure anywhere. Besides, I know that nothing short of unavoidable delay would do in my case. The only conveyance for one down the river is a Ken-

tucky boat loaded with flour for head-quarters. The boat and hands are put under my charge, and with three soldiers, making seven of us, we set sail.

12*th.*—Buffalo creek.

14*th.*—Land at Fort Harmar, mouth of Muskingum, a place where I had spent most part of the last two years with much satisfaction. It was now in a manner deserted. Head-quarters had been removed to Fort Washington, opposite the mouth of Licking. Spent one day with some old friends of the Ohio Company. Accounts from below that Indians are in force on the river near Scioto.

17*th.*—Reached the Great Kanahwa, where were several boats waiting to increase their force. An express had arrived from Limestone to Colonel Lewis, with accounts that the savages had attacked and taken several boats at the mouth of Scioto.

18*th.*—While waiting to enlarge our fleet, Mr. Kingsbury arrived from the Miami, by whom I received a letter from the General, but too late for me to execute his business.

19*th.*—Having examined the several boats and the people on board, the arms, &c., and made such disposition of the whole as was thought most judicious, sailed at the head of sixteen Kentuck boats and two keels. The Kentucky boats were lashed three together and kept in one line. Women, children and stock all put into the middle boats. Outside boats only manned and worked. The men belonging to each block of boats had their own commanding officer, and the whole could repair to either side as necessity might require. The keels

kept on each flank. The river is in good navigable order, and weather pleasant. The boats were enabled to keep their stations. Passed the Scioto about daylight.

20*th*. — About eight o'clock in the morning a storm of wind and rain met us. Such a one I had never before seen on the river. The boats had to be cut loose, and even when single were in danger of filling every instant. At this time were supposed to be about five miles below Scioto and close upon the Indian shore. Any apprehension from the Indians by me was forgotten; I was clear for making the nearest land, headed my boat for shore, and made the signal for the others to follow. One only obeyed the signal and landed along side of me. The rest passed and made for the Kentucky side, at the hazard of their lives. They, however, got safe, with no other damage than shipping large quantities of water. In this situation we were obliged to remain the whole day. As the sun went down the storm ceased. I fired a gun and put off — the boats all followed, and next morning reached Limestone.

Limestone, 21*st*. — Upon landing here was informed that an officer of the regiment, with soldiers, was on the opposite shore. Procured a light boat and crossed the river, where I found Lieutenant Pratt with a small party of men. He informed me that General Harmar, with about three hundred regulars and volunteers, had marched the morning before for Paint creek, which empties into the Scioto about sixty miles up, at which place it was expected the Indians who had been on the Ohio, would be found with their plunder. Here I found

that the General had calculated my time, for expecting that Mr. Pratt would see me, he had left instructions for me to proceed to Fort Washington. Parted with Pratt in the evening.

22*d*.—Arrived at Fort Washington about twelve o'clock.

Fort Washington, *May* 2*d*.—The troops returned from Paint creek, under command of Captain Ferguson. General Harmar parted with them at mouth of Scioto, and proceeded in his barge for Muskingum.

July 11*th*.—Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington from the Illinois, where he had spent part of the winter and spring in organizing the several counties in that quarter of the territory, and establishing a system of government. General Harmar had returned to headquarters some weeks since. The Governor remained with us but three days. In the mean time it was agreed and determined that General Harmar should conduct an expedition against the Maumee towns, the residence of all the renegade Indians, from whence issued all the parties who infest our frontiers. One thousand militia were ordered from Kentucky, and the Governor on his way to New York, the seat of the general government, was to order five hundred from the back counties of Pennsylvania. 15th September was the time appointed for the militia to assemble at Fort Washington.

15*th*.—The General commenced his preparations; calculations of provisions, horses, stores, &c., were immediately made out and ordered accordingly. Every day employed in the most industrious manner. Captain Ferguson, with his company, engaged in getting in com-